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CHAIRMAN OF ECONOMIC COUNCIL SUGGESTS RECOVERY PROGRAM

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 13 Dec 81 p 7

[Article by Kermit Nørlund]

[Text] "The ability to compete can be improved in a number of different ways--e.g. by cheap loans to the economy--but when it comes to the big push that needs to be effected, a combination of exchange-rate adjustments and income policy must play a central part."

So says Prof Hans E. Zeuthen, chairman of the economic council, in a description of the tools a new government should use to put more people to work and bring more order into Denmark's economic situation.

"The better both devaluations and income policy succeed, the greater possibility there is of improving both employment and the balance of payments. And income policy, including various forms of direct and indirect intervention in wages, presupposes a very great element of understanding in the trade union movement. If we look at the 13 to 14 percent improvement in ability to compete that the export industries made in the 1979-1981 period, it is the result of exchange-rate changes and of understanding on the part of the wage-earners. The improvement in ability to compete cannot be attributed one-sidedly e.g. to the discontinuation of cost-of-living allowances in 1979-80, but also has to do with the fact that the smaller devaluations with accompanying price rises did not make themselves felt and become a basis for a wage-earner demand for 100 percent compensation via wage increases.

"This understanding is a factor in the effect of the economic policy, and it may be said that interventions in the development of wages in the coming years presuppose that the economic policy as a whole has such a content that the wage-earners will accept the connection."

Hans E. Zeuthen does not wish to comment on whether a government in which the Social Democratic Party participates finds it easier to work up the necessary understanding and acceptance in the trade union movement than a pure non-socialist government, but he does point out "that a non-socialist government, too, must have something in its economic policy that satisfies the wage-earners' wishes on the whole.

"Regardless of whether it is a matter of the main problems--employment and the balance of payments deficit--or the after-effect, the state budget deficit, the

policy of recent years shows that it is possible to influence all three things in the positive direction by improving the ability to compete."

The economic council points out that exchange-rate changes can take many forms; they can occur "of their own accord," as, e.g., when the dollar's exchange rate falls and the currencies within the European system accordingly rise in value. The changes can also be made by the government itself after discussions with the countries in the economic system. Hans E. Zeuthen says that there is some indication that the countries prefer to make their adjustments jointly. He does not regard it as improbable that the dollar will decline further.

The economic council has recently been criticized by the Danish Employers' Association [DA] for its prediction that the wage increase in 1982 will be about 11 percent. The DA itself thinks that in spite of four cost-of-living increases and a promised raise, the wage increases will be held down to about 8 percent.

A few weeks ago the Handelsbank [commercial bank] came out with a figure still higher than the economic advisors'; the big bank is predicting wage increases of 12 to 13 percent in 1982. Against that background it warns of a lessened Danish ability to compete if no measures are taken.

The Aarhus economist Jørgen Gelting tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that the prevailing view among economists is that the wage increase in 1982 will be greater than in 1981, when it was about 8 percent.

"A new government is not pushed to change the exchange rate for reasons of competitiveness within 1982. But if the government wants to be sure of further improvement in the ability to compete, because that is the only sure way to improve employment, then it will obviously be compelled to take measures during 1982," says Jørgen Gelting.

8815

CSO: 3106/47

BANKS' GROWING CONCERN OVER POLISH LOANS NOTED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 21 Dec 81 pp 101-102

/Excerpts/ The Warsaw coup is increasing the concern of the 460 banks which are creditors of Poland.

The bankers of the Western world waited for news from Warsaw for 3 days--in vain. Nobody in the great banking houses of Europe and North America succeeded in getting through to Warsaw by telephone; nobody knew how the Polish Government would meet its payment obligations after the seizure of power by the military.

In the late afternoon of Tuesday last the Polish secret service radioed the London branch of the Polish Handlowy (foreign trade) Bank with a first message from Warsaw bank president Marian Minkiewicz.

The pertinent words in the radio message, telexed on Wednesday to Frankfurt and Paris were these: Poland will be unable to pay the roughly \$350 million interest due at the end of 1981. Warsaw therefore asked its Western creditors for an additional bridging loan with a term of 6 months.

The only bright note in the Handlowy message was the statement "we are resolved to carry out all our contractual obligations."

Concern about the Eastern Bloc country's debts to Western banks did not diminish after the message from Warsaw. The money managers must once again fear for their billions; it is doubtful once again whether moratorium agreements, negotiated laboriously in the course of many months, will be signed.

So far 44 FRG banks have loaned the Poles a total of about DM12 billion; slightly more than a third of that money is guaranteed by the government. By the end of this year Poland, that large-scale debtor country, ought to transmit almost DM2.3 billion in interest and redemption payments to the FRG alone.

In late June the credit collapse appeared to have been avoided once more. At that time the six major German creditors agreed with the French and the English on a preliminary standstill formula. According to this the Poles could have deferred for another 7 years 95 percent of the redemption instalments due this year.

Only 2 days before the proclamation of martial law the English law firm of Coward and Chance had sent to the creditor banks the draft of another moratorium allowing

the Poles to defer even the remaining 5 percent until August 1982 (at the latest). The complex set of agreements was to be signed no later than 29 December in the Frankfurt head offices of the Dresdner Bank.

It is very doubtful indeed whether such signing will take place consequent upon the arrival of the radio message from Warsaw. The punctual payment of the interest due had been a prerequisite for the deferral agreement.

Poland experts among FRG bankers now consider it impossible for the Eastern Bloc country to be able independently to earn the interest payments due next year.

On the other hand some of those who believe in Poland are more hopeful now, following the change-over of 13 December, however uncertain the country's ability to pay. They reckon that one consequence of Solidarity's loss of power might be the more rapid improvement of the economic situation in Poland. Moreover, the Soviets might now be more inclined to lend the country the necessary foreign exchange. "However much our democratic hearts may bleed," commented a major Frankfurt banker, "martial law is bound to make our loans safer and better."

One of the many imponderables of the last few days is the question whether the military will decide to pursue Warsaw's accession to the International Monetary Fund.

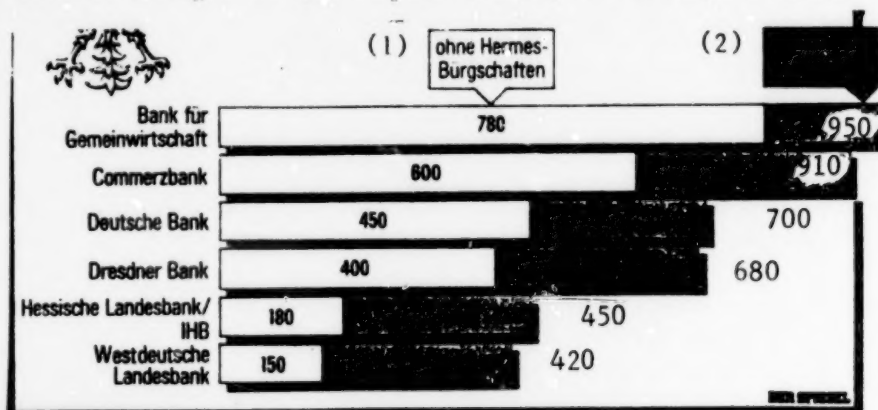
Should the military government desist from these plans, future Western aid for the Eastern Bloc country will be more difficult to obtain. It is to be assumed that the planned \$500 million aid to Poland to be collected by the Bank for International Settlements would not then materialize.

Should, however, the IMF accession proceed, not only this plan is likely to succeed. In that case Bonn Government experts estimate that Warsaw might draw additional billions in loans on the IMF as early as next summer.

Harald Kuehnen, president of the Association of Banks, therefore considers the earlier intended accession to the IMF a "pleasing prospect." The day after the generals seizure of power Kuehnen said: "Let us hope that the efforts for accession will continue." Certainly not least in the interest of German banks.

Banks Fear for Loans to Poland

The major German lenders to the Polish economy in million D-marks



Key:

1. Without export credit guarantee 2. Total loans to Poland

PARLIAMENT APPROVES SECOND SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 27 Nov 81 p 15

[Text] The parliament approved on Thursday [26 November] the second supplementary budget of the current year, which allots Valmet Fmk 70 million worth of resurgence funds. The supplementary budget total is Fmk 225 million.

The Parliament worked long on the budget on Thursday evening, in two separate sessions. About 20 different laws were dealt with in the second hearing.

The primary purpose of this supplementary budget is to secure employment during the coming winter season. The largest single expense was the Fmk 70 million to Valmet, which will be used to fund the company's revitalization program.

Continuing funding for Valmet's revitalization program is still open, as the government is expecting to receive first more information from the company.

Fmk 10 million was allotted to deepening the Inkoo passage. The purpose of this venture is to facilitate import of coal from longer distances.

The supplementary budget gives Fmk 5 million to Kemira for conditioning peateries. A loan of Fmk 30 million was given to the Developmental Area Fund.

The Lapland provincial government was given 10 million in the supplementary budget for the purpose of trying to establish permanent jobs in secondary trades connected with primary production, as for example in home manufacturing and other small production activity.

In addition, the state investment fund will receive Fmk 20 million for the purpose of improving the fund's possibilities of granting loans to small- and medium-sized industries.

Balancing under Dispute

The supplementary budget will be funded mainly through transfers from the Business Cycle Reserve. Fmk 200 million will be used from these funds.

A dispute took place over whether it is legal for a supplementary budget to be in deficit. Early in the week, the chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on the

Constitution, Erkki Pystynen (Conservative Party) had indicated that a deficit is against the constitution.

On Thursday evening, as the income side of the supplementary budget was being approved, Mauri Vanska (Conservative Party) proposed that Fmk 25 million be added to the income side of the budget in order to balance it. However, his proposal was rejected by 58 to 106. Vanska received support from the opposition parties.

Hunting Fees Going up

In the second reading, the parliament also approved, among other things, the hunting law reform. The maximum amount for game protection fee will go up from 50 marks to 100 marks. After the new law takes effect, the fee will be raised from the current 50 marks to 55 marks.

The government has proposed for the law to also include a list of game animals and directions on approved hunting methods. However, the parliamentary law committee did not approve these changes.

Parking Violations Costly

Increase of parking violations fine was also approved in the second hearing on Thursday. The fee will go up to 30 marks from the present 20 marks.

Under special circumstances, the Ministry of the Interior might raise the fee up to the maximum of 100 marks. The current fine is Fmk 40.00 in some large cities and Fmk 30.00 in other towns.

9571

CSO: 3107/33

GOVERNMENT SUBMITS PROPOSAL FOR THIRD SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 28 Nov 81 p 11

[Text] The government submitted to the parliament on Friday [27 November] its third and final supplementary budget, which totals nearly Fmk 1.9 billion. The budgeted expenditure for the current year is over Fmk 59.3 billion, whereas the total of the budget itself was somewhat over Fmk 56 billion.

The government has decided not to use some of the budgeted funds and has consented to some saving measures at a volume high enough to enable it to consider the 1981 budget and the supplementary budgets as balanced, even if sufficient amounts of actual added income have not been shown.

The centralmost items in the final supplementary budget are compensations for harvest losses, as well as compensations for price differences determined by certain tax laws on products. Fmk 110 million are proposed for the compensation of harvest losses, and Fmk 450 million for the price difference compensations. Other added expenditure is caused mostly by the higher cost level.

Fmk 8 million are proposed for Valvill'a Co. as interest subsidy loans. The loans will be used to finance the company's investment program. The company will have a new spinning mill in Hyvinkaa.

The supplementary budget proposes also an addition to the Enso Gutzeit Co exchange debenture. The state share of the loan is over Fmk 70.8 million, in other words, Fmk 800,000 higher than was estimated in the first supplementary budget.

Imatran Voima and Enso Gutzeit will receive altogether nearly Fmk 15 million worth of compensations for the Saimaa flood discharges. Fmk 20 million will be used for employment projects, and 40 million for unemployment compensations.

Additional millions are also needed for development area subsidies, for children's day care, care of the handicapped, compensations for agricultural vacation stand-ins, education expenses, the UN forces, culture, the postal administration, the state railroads, etc.

Mine Sweeper Prototype

The Defense Force wants to place domestic orders for ammunition worth Fmk 196 million. The order is being argued for by unemployment in the metal industry.

Fmk 7 million worth of alterations are wanted in Air Force equipment in order to improve air control. The supplementary budget does not tell what alterations are needed.

The Navy will for its part acquire a prototype of a new mine sweeper. Fmk 1.2 million will be needed for that.

Also, more money than estimated will be spent on all sorts of traveling. The Finnish group of the Interparliamentary Union will get 135,000 Fmk, and the Protective Police Force 120,000 Fmk because its training-related travel has been rising surprisingly much.

The government's current expenditures will grow by Fmk 700,000, the continuing of the Madrid ETYK meeting longer than expected will cost Finland an additional 1 million; and 2 million will be needed for organizing the January presidential election.

The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank will meet next year in Helsinki. Fmk 300,000 worth of equipment will be needed for organizing security.

History of Gypsies

The Mikkeli province's 150-year anniversary publication will receive a subsidy of Fmk 30,000 and Fmk 25,000 will be used for a book, that deals with gypsies, their history, culture, and traditions.

The Seinajoki campus of the University of Tampere training institute will acquire new positions for training chief and a planner, by a gift to the municipality of Seinajoki.

Cultural services will be added in Kostamus and Svetogorsk by Fmk 40,000. Fmk 60,000 will be used for prizes in the Sibelius Academy's 100th year anniversary composition competition.

The Saimaa Boats Co will receive a subsidy of one-half of a million, which will be used to cover the half a million losses this year.

Additional Debt Worth 325 Million

The government states in the arguments for the supplementary budget that although an addition of Fmk 1.4 billion is expected in taxes and tax-natured income, Fmk 188 million in mixed income, nearly Fmk 300 million in interest income and over Fmk 29 million in the profits of state companies, the budgetary deficit cannot be prevented without added borrowing. An additional sum of Fmk 350 million is proposed as authorized loans. New borrowing will be Fmk 325 million.

The government reports in the arguments for the supplementary budget that the supplementary budget has changed this year's budget so that it has a deficit of Fmk 672 million. Generally the procedure has been that only added income and expenditures have been marked in the budget, but this time over Fmk 600 million worth of unused allotments and Fmk 270 million savings will be added so that the budgetary economy appears to be balanced.

9571

CSO: 3107/33

BRIEFS

FOREIGN DEBT INCREASED--Finland's long-term foreign gross debt in the beginning of September had the countervalue of Fmk 41.351 million. By the end of the year, the amount will have gone up to over Fmk 5 billion, reports the Bank of Finland. Foreign capital had been withdrawn during the first three quarters for the net value of Fmk 2.440 million marks. Changes in the currency exchange rates have caused an additional debt worth Fmk 2.821 million. Long-term foreign capital was withdrawn between January and September at the value of Fmk 5.563 million and redeemed for Fmk 3.123 million, so the new import was Fmk 2.440 million. The previous year, during the corresponding period, the net import of capital was Fmk 1.339 million. The share of businesses of the total withdrawal of debt was Fmk 2.836 million, in other words, 54 percent, and the share of municipalities was Fmk 1.725 million, whereas the share of finance institutions was Fmk 723 million. [Text] [Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 20 Nov 81 p 33] 9571

CREDIT GRANT TO BULGARIA--Suomen Vientiluotto [Finland's Export Credit] has made the first general credit agreement between Finland and Bulgaria. The credit agreed on with the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank is valued at US\$ 5 million, and it has been intended for supporting the quickly expanded trade between the two countries. [Text] [Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 28 Nov 81 p 10] 9571

CSO: 3107/33

PAPANDREOU ANNOUNCES SWEEPING ECONOMIC MEASURES

Athens ATHENS NEWS in English 15 Dec 81 p 5

[Text] Premier Andreas Papandreu Sunday night announced a series of economic measures that would ease the financial burden of the low-income group and revive the country's flagging economy.

At the same time he announced price increases for fuel and water and higher telephone rates.

Addressing the nation on television, the Prime Minister promised salary increases of up to 35 percent for the lower-income group, and credit facilities for small and medium-sized enterprises. He said his government would supervise a distribution of the national income that would raise the standard of living of the lower-salaried.

Mr. Papandreu said that the country's economy was going through a serious crisis, whose roots went back to the economic programme of the first post-war governments.

This crisis, he said, was compounded by the world economic slowdown and had been aggravated during the last three years by the policies of the New Democracy party.

Mr Papandreu stressed that his Administration had "inherited empty coffers." He warned that the economy was "in a state of advanced decomposition," and called for the full support of the people to overcome the crisis.

As a result of the former government's policy, Mr. Papandreu said inflation was now running at 25 percent, the national income growth would be negative, and investments were down.

He noted that the current accounts deficit stood at 2.5 billion dollars while the deficit in the public sectors was currently about six billion dollars.

Mr. Papandreu added that the harmful results of the former government's policies would continue to affect the country for some time to come.

"Our target is to overcome and eliminate these consequences and get the economy going again on an upward trend and on a socially just course," he said.

Within the limits of the economy's potential and with social justice as a guide, the Premier announced the following measures in the various sectors of the economy.

COST OF LIVING READJUSTMENT OF WAGES

1) To protect the workers' income from inflation and for a juster distribution of the national income, the government will implement the system of automatically linking salary and wage increase to the price index and also adapting the taxation scales.

This system will go into effect as of May 1, 1982, with

{adjustments every four months. The system will be implemented fully for salaries of up to 35,000 dr. For salaries from 35,000 — 55,000 dr., the implementation will be based on half the rise of the price index, and from 55,000 to 80,000 dr. the percentage will gradually become zero. The system will use as a starting point salaries as of 1.1.1982.

For reasons of social justice, the Premier said, the government has decided to buttress low and medium salaries, with special emphasis on low incomes. Consequently, civil servants' salaries of up to 20,000 dr. will be increased by 5,000 dr., salaries up to 25,000 will be increased to 29,500 dr., salaries of 30,000 dr. will be raised to 34,000 dr., etc.

Similar increases will be made to pensions. The automatic readjustment of the cost of living will be implemented as of 1.5.1982.

The cost of living readjustment of income tax scales will be valid for income received in 1982.

TAXATION ADJUSTMENTS

With regard to the taxation measures to be taken in favour of workers, the Prime Minister announced that, for the 1981 income, the possession of a car of up to 8 hp will not be considered a criterion of wealth.

The tax-free allowance

for each child will be raised to 24,000 dr.

With the tabling of the State Budget in Parliament further taxation reliefs will be announced in favour of employees and workers.

The Prime Minister announced the following additional measures in favour of workers and employees.

— The establishment of annual leave of four weeks for all workers.

— The decrease of working hours to 41 hours a week as of 1.1.1982 and to 40 hours a week as of 1.1.83.

— An increase of housing loans.

With regards to pensioners Mr Papandreu announced that farmer's pensions will increase by 1,000 dr. Farmers wives will also receive pensions and the payment of an annual holiday allowance.

The government will proceed to the readjustment of all other pensions, such as the TEVE (Merchants and Shopowners Pension Fund), by 60—70%, while the lowest pension paid by IKA will be 11,000 dr.

The ceiling of loans and other credits by banks to small and medium-sized concerns will rise from 3 to 5 million dr. These loans will be

granted without the previous approval of the sub-committee for Handicraft Credits, while the State's guarantee will be 100% for the first two million dr. and 80% to 5 million dr.

Companies owing money to IKA (Social Insurance Foundation) will be allowed to settle their dues in 48 monthly instalments.

Furthermore, the price of up to 150 telephone calls will be 1.60 dr. per unit. Above this number of calls, the price per unit will be 2 dr. The price of water for household use will be 15 dr. for consumption to 4 cubic metres, 25 dr. for consumption from 4 to 15 cubic metres, and 40 dr. for consumption beyond 15 c.m.

The price of petrol (ordinary and super) will increase by 3 dr. per litre, of diesel oil by 1 dr. per litre, and of mazut by 0.85 dr. per litre.

The Prime Minister in his announcement added that further economic measures will be announced soon, concerning mainly investments policy, incentives, and credit and taxation policies.

BRIEFS

INVESTMENT PROJECTS DELAYED--Coordination Minister Apostolos Lazaris said yesterday that while the re-evaluation of the projects of the Public Investments Program is continuing, it has already been ascertained that there are "frighteningly great" delays in the execution of these works, and that this has blocked the public investments program and reduced considerably the possibility of implementing new projects. The construction costs of these projects had been greatly exceeded, mainly due to incorrect planning which of necessity led to continuous modifications, Mr. Lazaris said. [Athens ATHENS NEWS in English 24 Dec 81 p 9]

CSO: 4600/176

NARIN, DENIZCIER DISCUSS EMPLOYEE-EMPLOYER RELATIONS

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 4 Nov 81 pp 15, 16

[Panel discussion between Labor Minister Turhan Esener, TURK-IS President Ibrahim Denizcier, TISK President Halit Narin, labor law scholar Kemal Oguzman, moderated by Taylan Sorgun]

[Text] Participants

Professor Turhan Esener

Born in 1925, Prof Turhan Esener was graduated from the Ankara Law Faculty in 1946 and took his doctorate 5 years later from Geneva University. From 1970 to 1972, he was visiting professor of labor law at Strasbourg University. In 1975, Esener served briefly as minister of labor in the Sadi Irmak government.

He was returned to the Ministry of Labor in the Uluşu government formed after 12 September.

Ibrahim Denizcier

Born 1923 in Istanbul. Entered the labor world as a lathe operator in 1946. Organized workers at the Monopoly Directorate where he was employed in 1950 to found the Monopoly Shipping Workers' Union, becoming charter member and president of this union. In 1952, became member of Istanbul Confederation of Labor Unions Executive Board.

Elected president of TURK-IS [Turkish Confederation of Labor] in 1979, continuing to serve in this post at present.

Prof Kemal Oguzman

Born 1927 in Istanbul. Graduate of Istanbul University Faculty of Law. Became assistant professor in 1957 and full professor in 1965. Served as assistant rector, Istanbul University, in 1973 and 1974. Represents the Law Faculty in Istanbul University Senate and the university on the Interuniversity Council. Member, International Labor Law and Social Security Law Association Executive Board; president of Turkish Unity Committee of this association.

Halit Narin

Born 1930 in Istanbul. After completing Istanbul Men's Lycee, traveled to Britain to study textile engineering. Returning home after completing his studies, he took his first job at his father's factory, Narin Textiles.

Presently managing director of Narin Textiles, Incorporated, and president of the Turkish Confederation of Employer Unions [TISK].

Taylan Sorgun: Employee-employer relations and the controversy which began with the industrial movement have truly become today the foremost item on the current agenda. New climates of controversy occur every day even in countries whose industrialization process is complete and in nations where "free unionism" flourishes.

Union movements were first encountered in Turkey with the establishment of the "Amelepervver Cemiyeti [Pro-Labor Society]" in 1871. According to one theory, however, the AHI [expansion unknown] organizations, going back further than 1871, were similar movements.

Some labor movements were established during the time of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, the first strike, by shipyard workers, occurred in 1872.

The labor movements in Turkey were alive, though just barely, during World War I also.

During the Republican period, the "Eastern Railway Workers" went on strike on 18 November 1923.

The 1924 Constitution granted, with certain restrictions, the right and freedom to form associations and a great many were suddenly organized. The most important was the "Amele Tali Cemiyeti [Labor Subcommittee]," established in 1924. Then in 1925, the Establishment of Public Order Law placed restrictions on activities in this area.

In 1932, Turkey joined the "International Labor Organization," and Labor Law No 3008, on which debate began in 1934, went into effect in 1936.

Finally in 1945, the Ministry of Labor was established in Turkey and the ban on forming associations without a permit contained in the earlier law was lifted.

In 1946, debate intensified with the establishment of the DP and the launching of the multiparty system, and the establishment of regional labor associations and unions was begun.

The first Labor Convention was held in 1947, the second in 1954 and, between 1954 and 1957, union congresses began calling openly for unconditional collective bargaining and strike rights. On 31 December 1961, the Turkish Confederation of Labor, TURK-IS, sponsored the historic Sarachanebasi Rally.

When the laws went into effect on 24 July 1963, 800 workplaces at once were invited to collective labor negotiations and the first legal strike was called by the Motor Transit Workers Union in Bursa on 7 November 1963.

From that day on, employer-employee relations in Turkey began to draw a variegated picture and, following the events which began in Turkey in 1968, occupation movements suddenly appeared, taking advantage of omissions or loopholes in the law, and tensions steadily mounted in employer-employee relations. A variety of views have been advanced and debates held on the laws which have governed labor life up to the present. According to some circles, the laws are not "modern" and, according to others, they do not conform to Turkey's structural character. Another view is that these laws are not clear and contain contradictions. The laws governing our labor life are about to be revised today. This open forum will deal with the general outlines of them and the amendments. I shall now give the floor first to the distinguished minister of labor and ask for his views on this topic.

Esener: Unionism and the collective labor contract system found favor in the 19th century in principle as a way of solving problems involving social policy and developed rapidly up until the present. The point of principal importance in this is that industrial movements did not begin until this century.

In a way, there seems to be a phenomenal incompatibility between social policy and the collective agreement system, or between labor law and economics. Economic policy avoids inflationary actions insofar as possible and strives to regulate wages and working conditions accordingly. On the other hand, social policy seeks the distribution of income derived from the economy according to the standards of social justice and so as to raise the welfare of those who work to the highest level possible. But, actually, both policies are the same, because higher income and output will be ensured, without inflation, through the economic policy and will be divided among those who work according to the standards of social justice and the social policy. Efforts of this sort ensured the rapid development of collective labor agreements and union movements both in European countries with socialist regimes and in countries with a free market economy, and this rapid development continued until 1973. Many contracts were written and disagreements resolved up until that time, so much so, indeed, that a demand for imported workers was seen in the northern tier countries. As many workers as possible were brought into these countries because production and exports were high. This situation lasted until 1973, but after 1973 and especially in recent years, the labor contract system has run into trouble both in America and Britain, and even Germany. Various constraints appeared for certain reasons such as, in particular, increased unemployment and re-evaluation of export potential and, bearing these constraints in mind, each nation attempted to create the best collective contract system for its own structure in compliance with both article 2 of ILO Agreement No 154 and its Recommendations No 164. Since that time, various amendments have been proposed and improvements suggested in the laws of European countries, and each country has proceeded to make various changes in its collective contract system and labor law.

As for Turkey: We had no collective agreement law in Turkey prior to 1963. There was, however, the Unions Law of 1947. It was a kind of transition law. Since it made no provision for strikes, however, the Unions Law and the Strike and Lockout Law were made effective as of 24 July 1963 along with the 1961 Constitution. One

of the worst drawbacks here was the absence of rules of usage and custom on which to base implementation of either law. Despite this, however, it is seen that development of our collective labor agreement system and labor jurisprudence was great and rapid in the years following 1963 owing to the good will shown by both employee and employer organizations despite the lack of such rules of usage and custom.

After the intervening 18 years, it is seen that because the economy came to a dead-end and no really meaningful harmony could be achieved between credit, interest and wages, which constitute the elements of cost, our country was hoist on a complete social and economic petard and the crunch came.

Eighteen years, in any case, is time enough for deficiencies and areas and omissions permitting abuse of these laws to emerge. These abuses occurred in practice, in doctrine and in court interpretation.

To summarize them, if need be, one might suggest such abuses, in particular, as implementation of more than one collective labor contract in a single workplace, conciliation's having become a stage merely to be gotten through in order to go on strike, reduced production of many unnecessary strikes and disruption of our economy. Certain articles are very susceptible to abuse. Because of this, I think there is no time like the present for the necessary changes to be made in these laws in order to write the law best suited to Turkey's circumstances. Doubtless, in writing this law, it is essential for us, first of all, to put employee-employer relations in the best possible order and provide for labor peace.

Labor Right Guarantee

In providing this social peace, we must not forget that labor rights have never been guaranteed. Labor rights will be guaranteed. Thus the purpose of passing new laws is to eliminate handicaps occurring in the Turkish Labor Law and, in this way, while ensuring labor peace on the one hand, to provide for increased productivity on the other. Events and experience now show that if production does not improve and if the economy is jeopardized by unnecessary strikes, it will be impossible for the country to put its economic house in order. Therefore, the government is striving to halt inflation insofar as possible through economic measures on one hand and to prevent unemployment through legal measures on the other, while, in the meantime, trying to make the best arrangements for employee-employer relations, also through laws yet to be passed.

Sorgun: Mr Esener, you said that certain strikes had adversely affected the economy. Were these strikes based on worker rights or should they be looked at from another angle?

Esener: Certain strikes were called in order to protect the economic and social welfare of our workers. Others, however, were strikes conducted by taking advantage of loopholes in the law, as I just mentioned, because of unnecessary competition among unions and for certain other reasons; among them, to enable unions to attract each other's members. This was very dangerous, primarily because of falsification of claims. Procedural errors in the conduct of collective labor

agreements brought us to this point. And, too, certain strikes occurred because of unnecessary, impossible demands by the unions and the failure of our employers to be sufficiently openminded on certain matters.

Sorgun: Mr Oguzman, what are your views on employee-employer relations in Turkey?

Oguzman: Employee-employer relations in Turkey developed originally within a system based on the regulatory role and arbitrator status of the state. After labor contracts and the right to strike were written into law and put in place as guaranteed by the 1961 Constitution, however, these relations became subject, to a great extent, to the free bargaining of the sides. This made possible a measure of employee-employer peace and the attitude of the patriotic Turkish workers and employers was a factor preventing the mass participation of our workers in the period of terrorism now behind us. Despite this, existing defects in the law, the fact that certain labor organizations put labor actions on an ideological basis, the irresponsible behavior of certain employers and, in addition to these things, the breakdown of the functions of the legislative, executive and judiciary organs largely prevented the establishment of social peace, or its continuation though it had been established.

In laying the foundations of Turkey's structure for the future, it is imperative that the malfunctioning aspects of employee-employer relations be diagnosed well and realistically and appropriate methods of solution worked out. We have found by experience what the combination of excessive freedom and irresponsibility can lead to. Holding employee-employer relations subject to an authoritarian regime in reaction to this, however, may create a false sense of peace, but the dissatisfactions and stresses concealed by this atmosphere may result in social explosions. History bears this out.

In that case, effort must be exerted to formulate just and balanced methods of settlement appropriate to the social structure of the country and to employee-employer relations. The legal order by which Turkey will be governed henceforth may be obtained through wise amendment of the law.

Sorgun: Mr Oguzman, Mr Esener just said that the Strike and Lockout Law made possible the dissemination of the principles of social justice. Was it, in your opinion, really able to bring about an order appropriate to the principles of social justice?

Oguzman: The Strike and Lockout Law made it possible to ensure social justice for a segment of those who work, indeed it made possible some of the top requirements of social justice. However, it is not possible to claim that all those who work in Turkey have an income that fits within the standards of social justice. Not everyone is able to take advantage of the collective labor agreement system. Civil service, in particular, is deprived of these possibilities, the possibility of improving its own condition. It is impossible within this framework to claim that everyone who works benefits in the same measure from the principles of social justice.

Status of Non-Union Workers

Sorgun: Mr Esener, setting the civil service sector aside, the labor sector in Turkey may be considered in two categories. One of these groups is union workers. The other is the non-union workers employed in small units. I wonder if the status of these non-union workers is being taken up in the new planning, if this topic is on the agenda?

Esener: The collective agreement system has a three-pronged impact. The first impact is economic, another is legal and the other is social.

The legal importance of the collective agreement system is this: Once a collective labor agreement is signed, no strike or lockout can take place for the duration of that collective agreement. Thus it is said, "The collective labor agreement is an institution which guarantees social peace for the sides. Therefore, both the employees and the employers covered by the collective agreement have concluded a peace treaty." The second impact of the collective agreement system is economic, because, first of all, the collective agreement prevents unfair competition. Since, under the collective agreement, employers have to treat workers who perform the same job under the same conditions, employers who enter competition do so on the basis of quality or productivity rather than wages or working conditions. It is necessary that no otherwise unfair competition be undertaken by keeping wages low to reduce costs at a workplace without the benefit of a collective agreement. Thus, when we take it up from this standpoint in Turkey today, one advantage of collective agreements is this: Just as the workers know the benefits that will accrue to them for the duration of the agreement after a collective agreement is concluded, the employers also figure their costs according to it and regulate their business accordingly.

Generalization

Now I will get to the point you mentioned. Some workplaces in Turkey are covered by collective agreements and others are not. Working conditions at most of the uncovered sites are inferior to the rights of workplaces covered by collective labor agreements. Therefore, unfortunately, the institution of generalization as prescribed by article 8 of the Collective Labor Agreement Law has not worked to date for certain technical reasons and thus no progress has been made in generalization. For the future, opening up and facilitating generalization is under consideration in the system to be instituted. Thus the possibility is under consideration of extending existing contracts to workplaces where no collective labor agreement has been concluded. As for union and non-union workers employed at the same place, no different conditions have been sought to date. In the future, non-union workers may, by paying a set amount in dues, still benefit from the collective agreement.

Sorgun: Mr Esener, what will be the status of workers employed in small units, a carpenter's apprentice or master craftsman, for instance, because, as you also know, this type of workplace is in the majority?

Esener: When these workplaces come under a collective labor agreement, the terms of the agreement will apply to them also. There is no solution other than generalization to improve the lot of these workers.

Sorgun: Mr Narin, you have heard Mr Esener's and Mr Oguzman's comments. Employee-employer relations had been hardening considerably prior to 12 September, having crystallized in certain areas. Tension was widespread. What causes would you, particularly as an employer, hang this on? Have conditions transpired since passage of the Strike and Lockout Law in Turkey to ameliorate sufficiently the social status of workers and what are your general views beyond this [question]?

Narin: We heard the comments of the distinguished minister of labor and Mr Oguzman. I will touch only in summary on the answer to your question, because this is a very broad problem. Labor Law No 3008 of 1936 is known to be the basic law governing labor life in Turkey. The issue was not taken up after that until the 1961 Constitution. This fact must be the point of departure. The issue was again taken up in the 1961 Constitution with the Strike and Lockout and Unions Laws. It is necessary to consider at the same time the advantages and disadvantages that this introduced. Only by taking up the pros and cons of this can we answer the questions as to whether it is possible to put our workers' social and labor life in order today and whether the law needs to be amended.

The failings of the 1961 Constitution were seen in the 12 September operation. If we take this fact as the point of departure, a simple criticism of what the 1961 Constitution did and did not do is necessary. The 1961 Constitution, in decentralizing state authority, also placed the powers to regulate labor-management relations in diverse hands, therefore separating employees and employers from the agencies that would regulate their reciprocal rights and possibilities for dialogue, and thus they did not have this working system.

Management and Administration Controversy

The cause for the subsequent deterioration of employee-employer relations, which we have seen proceeded smoothly at first until 1968, and for their taking a different form at an increasing tempo after 1972 must be blamed on the failure to have a central power to resolve problems and the inability of the state to make its influence felt in the arbitration process. The primary philosophy here began with the "poor worker" syndrome. The concept acted upon was that the employer should always be able to give, that whatever assistance the state was able to provide from the budget for workers in the state sector, private enterprise should also be able to provide its workers from its own private budget, and it was desired that employers step in also to the point of taking on the state's social problems. It was desired that the employer take on many burdens such as clothing our workers and taking care of all their family needs and social problems. The Pandora's box that this opened pushed employee-employer discord to an irreconcilable point.

We must agree that controversy in the period just past was also over whether management and administration lie with the employees or with the employer. Labor claimed to be the major building block, thus putting management and administration in its purview, and while it was trying to take over functions of every kind, the employers also claimed that this was in their purview and fought constantly in an effort to avoid letting their inherent power of control escape. A constant and bitter battle evolved in the discord at this point.

In addition, we see in the course which our political life has taken since 1963 that despite constitutional emphasis on equality so as not to upset the balance of the sides, all of the laws passed by our houses of parliament after 1963 and 1964 always introduced rights favoring the worker and burdens upon the employer and, therefore, our houses of parliament, by passing laws which favored only the worker but increased the burden on the employer, pushed the impasse over the Strike and Lockout Law a little more toward the point of conflict. If we were to ask whether there had been anything since 1963 to require rectification in favor of the employer, we would see that by now it has become necessary to make many corrections.

If we were simply to look at labor laws and labor-management relations in Europe and the United States, it would be seen that the point of conflict which exists in all European countries does not exist in the United States. If we agree that the thrust of these laws began in the United States and that the economic locomotive is the United States, we see that in the United States no obligation to the worker which is rightfully the government's or society's has been placed upon the employer or the workplace or has even been demanded. In no way to date has an article [of law] in any form been brought to bear in the American economy on the management and administration and absolute authority in the workplace of employers and managers for one who does not work or those who are indifferent on the job, nor has bringing such to bear even been discussed. Thanks to the European model and the model we have employed in Turkey by adopting the most advanced articles of that model, both European employee management and administration and employee management and administration in Turkey have reached the point of a constant state of discord and, therefore, this also contributed a little to the deterioration of peace in the workplace. It is necessary to add to this also the ideological provocation and the ideological movements of external origin which began and grew rapidly in 1972. Strong, organized financial resources had no oversight at all despite the legal liabilities and, because oversight was not enforced, some organizations spent their financial resources irresponsibly. We must accept it as fact that as a consequence of this irresponsible utilization, ideological strikes were financed and strikes which were adverse to the Turkish economy and social structure were prolonged or initiated.

To get the law passed is one duty. But another duty is to enforce the provisions of the law. Because everyone acted on the premise, after passage of the law, that it would enforce itself and because the measures it provided against erring union leaders were not translated into action, ideological strikes were put into practice by certain unions.

As a result, it is necessary to say that several major ideas ought to be enumerated in the review of this law today. Adjustments ought to be made so as not to interfere in any way in the employer's proficiency at handling management and administration. Workers' social rights and services which ought to be the responsibility of society and the government, not the employer, should not be expected from the employer and there must be no institution above the employer to demand them. Routes by which unions and union confederations move toward political relations should absolutely be closed and the articles dealing with the administrative and financial services and the production that our economy demands should be revised. It is natural for sides to have occasional disagreements. Occasional

disagreements between employer and labor unions are in the nature of this business. This disrupts the national economy, national interests and the social structure, and an arbitrator, that is, a government organization is needed to intervene decisively to reach a settlement and make it binding. Furthermore, action must be taken on the fact that the government has not to date dealt with the tempo of wage increases for our workers and civil servants, in that labor wages have far outstripped civil service wages for many years, making it imperative that the government bind civil service wages, which are not set by agreements, to a basis for bringing about a system that will not abuse our civil servants. The old multiplier system has reached the point today where it can no longer function.

Sorgun: Mr Narin, you said that certain social rights of workers which ought to be the responsibility of the government have been put upon the employers and that this has created problems. As known, what you are talking about is the provisions in the social rights section of collective labor agreements requiring education, day care and similar benefits. Might these not be a reflection of the consequences of Turkish social structure? In other words, why are these provisions which you say come under state responsibility in other countries covered by contract here? Is this not the result of Turkish realities?

Narin: To answer that we have to speak of the fallacy of logic. Is everything that is logical right? Is everything that is logical practical? Must logic always be pursued? The duty of the employer is to have a business, originating in his ideas for contributing to the business world and sustained by its production, and to conduct that business in the best way possible. It is extremely wrong to leave the employer confronted, beyond this, by the task which, being stipulated by society, ought to be performed by the government, to make the employer do it because the government does not. This causes problems. There is such a disparity between the "wages" that our workers make and the "supplements" they get that wrong-headed administrators are always taking advantage of it. "Supplements" to the wages our workers make are 2 to 2.5 times higher than the basic wage. That is, the actual money paid to a worker who says he "makes 10,000 liras" is 25,000 liras. A social crisis exists between the employer who says, "I'm paying 25,000 liras," and the worker who says, "I'm making 10,000 liras." Is it logical, furthermore, for family members who ought to be taking care of providing for their own vacations, clothing themselves or other matters to expect someone else to do it? It has no logic. There are health insurance systems in Europe today, but everyone has a health insurance system according to his own standards. There is a climate in which everyone thinks of the wages he makes in net terms and a climate in which the employer states clearly the amount he pays the worker. There is not a climate in which the state says, "Go get this from the employer." There is a child supplement today. This has become a world standard. Paid leave is accepted under specific criteria and everything else is left to be worked out in the worker's wages.

Sorgun: You are saying that this has been complicated by shortcomings in the state's implementation of the spirit of the social state. This is causing new clashes between unions and employers and what happens is that net wages get lost in the middle.

Narin: Yes. The logic of it comes to this: By whatever degree you increase the burden on the employer, you reduce the new economic power he would generate. Ideas and efficient management come under the description of the employer, but there can be no question of anything like his doing the jobs that the state ought to do. The biggest job that the employer has to do is provide good working conditions, good wages and good production, make Turkey competitive on world markets and open new job opportunities for every new Turkish citizen that is born. There is no logic, otherwise, in giving everything to the existing workers without a thought for the new ones who will be born.

All we want here is that the new legal planning not put labor's rights and wages on a collision course with management's rights and duties. The government, also, should be the authoritative link the moment employee-employer disagreements arise and at the same time should take up labor and management safeguards and the task of ensuring economic stability.

Worker Demands Will Not Decline

Sorgun: Mr Oguzman, Mr Narin just said: "The laws passed by the houses of parliament have consistently favored the workers, by this means placing new obligations on the employers." What are your views as an academician and what are the points on which you agree or disagree with Mr Narin?

Oguzman: I would like to say it is not so much a question of disagreement as taking a different approach. The basic goal of social policy and labor law is to strive for improvement of the standard of living of workers. Consequently, when the laws strive to improve workers' living conditions, the other side of the coin is, of course, to put specific obligations upon the employers. This is as it ought to be. However, it is possible to join Mr Narin from this point of view: In writing these laws, it is imperative to keep in view also the situation of employers and the national economy. But the primary focus of all laws governing business life is that workers' standard of living should be improved. The other point is the problem of social assistance. The collective agreement system in Turkey allows social assistance and even benefits exclusive of social assistance sometimes to exceed the basic wage. We must look to two points for the cause of this. One is that the desire to take advantage of the tax laws in effect prior to 1980 was operative both in the labor unions and among employers. This situation got the problem off-track. Doubtless, the state's performance of various tasks may reduce to a given degree the burdens on workers and employers alike, but it will never prevent workers from demanding ever more from the employer in collective contracts. I would like to give an example. A fund was established in Germany under the terms of collective labor agreements for the purpose of improving upon the resources allocated by social insurance laws so that construction workers could get more paid leave. The intention was to make this possible by placing money in this fund above the amount normally allowed. This is absolutely going to happen in a collective agreement system. It will not be easy to avoid it, that is, to make good on any such idea as "if the state does its job, new demands for social assistance will not be made on the employer."

Sorgun: Mr Denizcier, we have heard the views of the distinguished minister of labor and Professor Oguzman, then of Mr Halit Narin. What are your views, on behalf of the labor sector, on employee-employer relations?

Denizcier: Mr Sorgun, to treat a disease, the diagnosis must first be correct and it must be realistic. If we make a wrong diagnosis for our own pleasure or selfish interests, we may deceive ourselves and others for a while perhaps, but we cannot deceive the disease itself. That is, we cannot cure the disease by starting off on wrong assumptions.

Now we see here, especially from Mr Narin's statement, that he, as the major representative of the management sector, is mangling the realities of our country for the sake of the temporary interests of the class he represents. Where will it end if we start out with such an arbitrary diagnosis? At wrong conclusions and incorrect treatment. And then our nation is the one that suffers. Perhaps it is possible to deceive the nation for while with such claims as that the workers make excessive demands, the laws protect only the worker and victimize the employer and, although the poor employer makes investments at great sacrifice, he does not know himself what to expect from the workers. But it is not possible to sidetrack social phenomena with false interpretations. Social phenomena are a law unto themselves. The world turns by this law. Here is a social law for you: There is a Latin proverb that says if you want social peace, plant social justice. This saying is the slogan of the United Nations International Labor Organization, the ILO, of which Turkey is a member and whose principles we have adopted. Now you come along and change this law for Mr Narin's sake. In a country like Turkey where social and economic justice is so controversial, you turn to workers' families who are unemployed or going hungry because of low wages and tell them, "Look, you're fine. You have plenty of rights. Don't bother the poor employers." How much are you going to placate the masses with this kind of talk? Exactly as much as you did prior to 12 September. If you ignore your national responsibilities for the sake of such short-sighted interests, if you try to hide the facts behind a veil of lies, it is seen immediately that it won't hold water. Look at [the period] before 12 September. What did those who let the nation's peace deteriorate, who wanted to destroy its stability, take advantage of? Unemployment, deprivation, unfair taxation, lack of housing, workers' going hungry because of high prices and, on the other hand, the labors of a small minority and the ability to earn billions without paying adequate taxes. Certainly, this quagmire does not breed just mosquitoes, it breeds anarchy. In that case, telling them stories is not sufficient to fight the mosquitoes; it is necessary to dry up the breeding grounds. This is imperative if our country is to have complete peace and security tomorrow, free of anarchy and terrorism.

Worker Will Surely Be Protected

Now let us look at the labor laws. Surely the laws will protect the worker. Our distinguished scholars agree. The employer is already rich, influential and strong. He doesn't volunteer any help. Look at where they put their business -- in Istanbul, Izmir and Thrace, all the developed places in our country. Fine, may God bless anyone who offers employment to even one who is jobless. But why not in Mardin, Bingol, Mus or Sivas? Our military officers go there and stand guard at the border. Our teachers, our police, our civil servants all go there. And now with the new law, doctors and nurses will go, too. But our employers do not. Why? It lacks the infrastructure, they say. What do you call infrastructure? Roads, water, electricity and such. Who builds infrastructure? The state. With what? The budget. So once again let the infrastructure there be built with the

taxes of the worker, the officer and the civil servant and then let the employers honor it in style. What kind of patriotism is this? It is fine to talk about the national economy, production and so forth, but this also bears a little thought.

We mentioned the labor laws a moment ago. We see, then, how the employer is already strong enough to do as he wishes. In this case, the law will certainly protect the worker. The science of social policy developed in the West says this also. The economically-strong employer is also strong politically, in which case the laws ought to protect the worker so that the democratic system is not thrown out of balance, says social science. This is the first law. This is the reality. Now, what does it mean to repudiate this? It means let me have the best of everything, let me employ workers and earn billions and let the laws not protect the worker. Can this be? The state is obligated to protect the weak and the poor. Then where is the state's statenood?

Social Policy

The science of social policy is an important topic. This science says that labor should form free, democratic unions, invite the employer to engage in collective bargaining and realize social justice. It says that labor should strike when necessary as an economic means of force upon the recalcitrant employer. The Western nations have an ambience in this respect that we envy, because the employer is in his rights to pursue profits. If there were no unions, if there was no collective agreement system, if there were no strikes, no one would listen to the worker. The employer would not then demand dialogue and such. If he wanted to be forthcoming, he would and if he did not, he wouldn't. But labor does not want charity, it wants rights. It wants the rights which are the due of its labors. Therefore, the unions must be strong, because this business does not work otherwise. History has witnessed this throughout the world.

Moreover, it does not work, either, to let the state make the binding decision in labor-management relations, as Mr Narin spoke of. This is contrary to social science and to democracy as well, because it does not work. It does the country no good to sow cynicism in the process of bringing about settlement.

The collective agreement system does not allow excessive intervention. It is contrary to its nature. The state passes the laws, setting guidelines for labor-management relations. It ensures dialogue. It cautions the unruly. If necessary, it interposes a conciliation stage and tries to settle disputes. All of this is fine. But the final decision must be made by the labor and management organizations together. It must be by mutual consent. If there are unfair demands from either labor or management, the state may inform the public of the pros and cons. This is the way it is in the Western nations Mr Narin cited, and it is very effective. Demands which do not meet with public approval do not stand a chance. The public should also be informed of employers' claims, not just labor's demands. It is the state's duty to verify an employer's claim that he is losing money and inform the public. Even in the United States, workers have this right of verification. Is the employer in fact losing money? Has he paid his proper taxes? If he is losing money, why? If he is losing money because of mismanagement, what fault is that of the worker's? Mr Narin would desire examination of union accounts, so his own accounts ought to be open to inspection also.

This right should accrue both to an arbitration body formed by the state and to the unions and the results should be made public. Then unfairness and underhandedness would be prevented. The state's tax earnings would increase also.

Of course, there is also the problem of dialogue. We all have good intentions. We all favor dialogue. We do not want conflict. We say, "Come, let's talk. Let's find common ground and reach a compromise." The pot tries to make us look black by saying we have placed compromise in our 24 principles. What is the difference one way or the other? Certainly we will compromise; unionism is essentially the profession of compromise for defense of maximum labor rights within the limits of national interests. Every collective agreement is a compromise document. Those who try to make us look black also sign the contract, they also compromise. But for some reason it is good when they do it and bad when we do it.

Dialogue takes two. It does not do for us as the union alone to say, "Let's establish dialogue and reach a compromise." The employers, too, must desire compromise. But considering what Mr Narin said, he does not seem to want dialogue and compromise. He says the laws should not protect the worker, he says the union and the employer should not make the agreements, that a third party should do it. This dynamites dialogue. Union compromise already exists in all democracies. Employer-employee relations are founded upon this. There is no democracy in which an employer organization sets itself up to say the laws should not protect the worker, that a third party should conduct negotiations, because it would mean the destruction of social peace. Only those who desire conflict would say this. I do not want to believe that Mr Narin desires conflict, but it is not easy to establish dialogue with an employers' organization having this attitude. It seems to me that Mr Narin is saying this to satisfy the recalcitrant factions of his own organization. I do not think it possible otherwise for a literate, sophisticated person to think this way.

Sorgun: Mr Denizcier, there is also the problem of ideological strikes. The unions are charged with using their finances in negative ways in conducting ideological strikes. Would you comment on this?

Denizcier: I am not the one these claims address, It is not TURK-IS. We go on strike as a last resort. Our purpose is to eat the grapes, not beat up the owner of the vineyard. If other charges apply to other unions, the place to discuss them is in court. If Mr Narin knows something, he would probably also have the evidence, because if the prosecutor takes the case tomorrow and asks for it, he must be able to prove his charges. Nevertheless, if certain non-TURK-IS organizations have exploited labor rights and acted improperly, it is important to know how these organizations came into being and were sustained. I know of cases in which employers, purely to avoid the staunch posture of no compromise with the law of a TURK-IS union, personally invited puppet unions in and gave them the employee roster secretly, allowing them to take over the shop. No one is unaware of the strikes -- not ours -- which were set up by employers in order to deplete their factory stocks. You do these things and then complain about ideological strikes.

There is something else about strikes that is very important. According to TURK-IS headquarters' statistics, 35 percent more work days were lost to on-the-job accidents in the 5 years between 1974 and 1979 than were lost to strikes.

But no employer complains about on-the-job accidents or takes measures to prevent them, because the life of a worker is not important to him. If one leaves, a thousand come to replace him. You should employ a worker for years, squeeze him dry, then because you begrudge a guard rail around a 100-lira machine, an accident happens and you just let him die. And never mind what a great loss this is to the national economy, but do sound the alarm to the world about strikes, which cause 35 percent less damage. Is this for real? The basic problem for employers is not strikes and they know that this is not really important. The problem is this: Most of our employers are still first generation employers. They have not got past the boss stage to be able to become industrialists. They have no stomach for workers' rights. The downtrodden man of yesterday has risen and has formed a union. He has become the equal of those who would be his superiors. They cannot accept this. Their egos cannot take sitting down at the same table and negotiating with workers. Because they have no stomach for worker rights, they try to discredit the grandest right of all, the right to strike.

However, if they could swallow the modern labor rights which all Western nations accept, social peace would immediately obtain. The Turkish worker is the best-natured, most productive worker in the world. The Turkish worker goes to Germany, where they don't like us and call us lazy, and becomes the most productive worker. We know well that employers in Germany, the Netherlands and so forth all prefer Turkish workers, because the Turkish worker puts his heart and soul into his job when he gets a fair return for his labor. So the problem is to give a fair return to keep the worker happy. There are those who think even this is too much for the Turkish worker.

Sorgun: Mr Oguzman, Mr Narin said that union revenues were not used properly because there is no state oversight. What are your views on this?

Oguzman: I have no research based on statistical data, but prevailing opinion in Turkey is along the lines Mr Narin expressed. Newspaper reports and developments are of a nature to indicate that many union funds are squandered or used for certain special purposes.

Narin: Mr Oguzman said in his statement: "There will be developments and planning in the social rights of workers." There is no way that it would be possible not to share in this. Just as this is a duty for the employer, it is also a duty for the government. But, in all fairness, have there been no employer rights at all which should have been revised since 1963? No one can now deny that the employer's management rights have been diminished and taken away from him today.

A large part of the money going into social insurance today comes out of the employer's pocket. After all, is there an organization in Germany that pays this much into the insurance system? --No.

Every law passed puts financial and administrative responsibilities upon the employer. But if there is social responsibility involved, it is the alienation of the employer from being an employer, and society does not profit by this.

On the other hand, the money which came out of the accounts and safes of certain unions after 12 September was up in the billions. One wonders if this was money spent by the Ministry of National Education for employee training and if any money

was monitored from year to year. It seems not, doesn't it? How were these billions spent each year? Have the governments and administrators not been responsible for this to date? We are back where we started. Getting the laws passed is a different matter. It is the government's job to get the laws passed. The employer organizations, though, are confronted by the same thing today. The employer organizations and employers individually cannot assume society's problems in all their details. This is impossible.

Sorgun: Mr Narin, everything costs more every day in Turkey because there is no effective price control mechanism. So do the unions have weapons other than collective agreements to ensure the livelihood of workers? With the tax system out, moreover, is there anything else the labor unions can do?

Narin: You can't cut down all your trees every time you want to build a fire to keep warm. It is necessary to sort out obligations and requirements. Bargaining does not mean bargaining that does not "fit" world realities, national realities and the economic structure. The criteria will fit the country both here and abroad. The balance of supply and demand is an important factor here. Inflation is a criterion for us, improved living conditions is a criterion, joining world markets is a criterion. The sides have to deal with these. If you take this weapon and push it into a corner, can it delimit the bounds of any human need? Not in the least. Failing to take any service into account among the stepping-stones of a developing nation will be bad for the economy. If you want the exchange-rate equivalent of the German worker's pay for the worker in Turkey also and if you add social assistance to this as well, there is no point where these logically merge. Why is America superior to Europe? --Because the employer has the initiative. Do the opportunities and profit rates of European employers exist in Turkey? These things are all interdependent.

Sorgun: Mr Denizcier, you say that your rights are inadequate, but it is charged that gross pay and social rights together are too high.

Denizcier: The gross-net problem is an interesting one. The 25,000 liras gross that the employer pays becomes 10,000 liras net for the worker. The difference goes to the state as taxes. Why are taxes so high? --Because the state has always collected taxes from the ones it could catch, collecting nothing from the ones it couldn't. Workers and civil servants are caught right at the payroll where taxes are deducted and this is where the injustice begins. The new tax law was a positive development. How was such unconscionable tax evasion as we learned about at that time from the minister of finance possible? Has it all been corrected? Certainly not. The tax on labor income is still very high. The tax on gains and profits is still very low. Taxes are still being avoided. There are many who pay annual taxes of 50,000 liras. Even workers making minimum wage are paying this much -- right beside the employer or businessman who employs who knows how many workers. Is this right?

Improvement of the tax system must continue. The most positive thing after 12 September was the suppression of terrorism and, after that, the start on tax reform. But it is not sufficient, the trend must continue. Look, capital is expensive, credit is expensive, they say. Interest rates are high. How is the income comprised of this interest taxed? How are gains and profits being taxed? In any case, these will also be clarified in any new tax reform.

That is to say, the net-gross difference is not the worker's responsibility. If we are seeking the responsible party, look to those who do not pay their taxes, to those who cannot collect the taxes.

Then there is the problem of wages and social rights being high. Consider the fact that in many cities a worker's income is not even enough to rent a decent house. Is this high wages, for heaven's sake? Bonuses, social assistance and such came about because wages were so low. The purpose is to let the worker live a little. But what is the result? Let me say that as of 1980, the average Turkish worker makes only one-fifth of the wages a German worker makes for the same job. The job he does is the same, the price on the international market of the goods he produces is the same, or even less for us for such items as raw materials, textiles and food. But total income -- wages, bonuses and social assistance as a whole -- is only one-fifth. This, then, is the figure complained about as too high. It makes one wonder: If profits were compared similarly between German employers and Turkish employers, who knows what percentage we would come out with?

Let me add one last thing. We have one request from the Labor Ministry and the university professors. Fine talk does not fill our stomachs. No offense intended, but our life is at stake. Everyone agrees that labor law protects the worker and the Ministry of Labor implements it, but the ministry and the scholars do not act along these lines in practice. No progress is made in this matter by saying everyone should have his rights, making vague statements and tossing the ball back and forth. The Labor Ministry is charged with ensuring implementation of the law. What happens when an employer is behind in paying his workers? If a worker trips up against the famed article 17 of Law No 1475, the door is immediately slammed in his face. But he has no leverage against the employer. Employers are also virtually free to violate the law as to worker health and job safety. Our state has the most advanced regulations in the world in this area, but the Labor Ministry which is responsible for enforcement has sent out various circulars tying the hands of its own inspectors. Labor Health and Occupational Safety inspectors have been officially ordered in writing to advise, not investigate. I do not understand how this order can be compatible with the law. On one hand, approximately five workers die in job-related accidents every work day, nine are disabled and our state rants about hiring the handicapped, while on the other hand we can get no measures taken to prevent disablement in the factories. The minimum figure for Turkey's total economic loss from industrial accidents and job-related illness in 1980 was more than 30 billion liras. Every measure necessary could have been taken for far less than the 30 billion liras lost. But because of apathy, the apathy of the universities and the neglect of the employers, both the 30 billion liras were wasted and thousands of workers were killed or maimed. I would like to remind the Labor Ministry and the universities once again that they have a very great duty in this regard.

Oversight and Training

Sorgun: Mr Denizcier, what do you think about oversight of the unions?

Denizcier: TURK-IS unions are checked and make reports frequently. Democracy exists in our unions. They have account and review committees at their congresses. Oversight councils make close inspections every few months in between congresses. Then, as the confederation, we have supreme power of oversight. We know exactly where every penny comes from and where it goes; secrecy is impossible.

Nevertheless, we are not opposed to impartial oversight. We do not object to oversight by an impartial state institution, even though it violates ILO principles. We have said this many times. There is nothing to present a problem here. However, if oversight shifts to administrative areas, that changes the name of the game. We must respect ILO standards in this regard.

There is a 5 percent education fund. TURK-IS unions conduct continuous union education, teaching workers the balance between rights and duties. If it were not for this education, we could not have withstood the harassment and violence prior to 12 September, and if we had fallen, Turkey would have fallen. That is to say, our education went far beyond the legal fund, we instilled the right values and defended the country within our own perimeter.

But let me say this also. Many private sector employers wanted nothing to do with our requests for joint education. They did not give our workers educational leave or even allocate space for education. Yet the educated worker is conscientious, he recognizes and defends the place where he works as the source of his livelihood. Despite this, employers were not enthusiastic about education. They did not fulfill their legal responsibilities as to apprenticeship and occupational training either. They have no right to cast aspersions on us now.

In speaking of oversight, one must take it to be more than one-sided. Let the unions have oversight. Fine. But why should there not be oversight of employers? Who will check on the employers for bad management or the ones who are too tight to pay their workers, who fire workers arbitrarily or violate the labor laws? Who will punish the guilty employer in such cases? We have not seen much in the way of implementation of these matters. In bringing up the topic of oversight, it is necessary that the state attend to them as well.

Sorgun: Mr Esener, financial oversight of the unions has come up in our open forum here. There was also some public controversy over it earlier. In fact, the issue had come up prior to 12 September. Now, I wonder if any future measures along these lines are under consideration today?

Esener: Mr Sorgun, the state talks little and does a lot. We hear the complaints and demands of the sides and then, as the government, make our decision. State intervention in labor life is a political problem depending entirely on the regime. It changes from one regime to the next. The state sometimes plays a large role, sometimes a small one. So I believe that, on the basis of our policy, state intervention is less. The state provides for collective labor agreements to take place more easily and for agreement to be reached by peaceful means. Consequently, the first duty of the state, in my opinion, is to look at the sides as a whole. Labor and management cannot be considered separately, they are a whole. If workplaces close down, unemployment rises. If employees do not work, the employers cannot run their factories themselves. One cannot exist without the other. The lawmaker's task is to find this delicate balance between labor and management. Beyond this, the state may intervene only within the limits I described and no further. There is no free lunch. Wherever the employers have an advantage, they will also find a disadvantage. It is not right to expect everything from the state. If the state is able to ensure labor peace, that is indeed a fortunate state. When a law is written, the needs of the nation are borne in mind. As for the situation's requiring financial control of the unions, there are already provisions for this, this oversight is covered, in the associations law. But it has not been applied in this instance.

Narin: We must not forget that high wages and excessive wage-increase demands have put Turkey in a difficult situation economically today. The past has taught us that high wages do not mean increased production. It is just as well to be reminded of this point also: The state is an organ of neutral influence which intervenes if necessary. But we must not forget, unfortunately, that the state is also a managing organ at the SEE's [State Economic Enterprises]. Considering its status here as impartial on one hand and siding with an organization on the other, the need must absolutely be felt for a wage policy on a national scale. A wage policy on a national scale has not been pursued to date. Actually, this should apply to both the SEE's and private enterprise. Unfortunately, however, we always see in practice that the government and ministries are always among the bargaining organs vis-a-vis labor organizations and, by being a bargaining party, cancel out their capacity as superior. We would hope for the future that the SEE's would be removed from a ministry, or government, milieu and turned over to other organs to be operated normally and that the governments would certainly decide at the beginning of each fiscal year on a wage policy compatible with national economic and social conditions. As long as this is not done, Turkey has no hope of achieving a milieu oriented toward production and social solidarity.

SEE's and Check-Off Problem

Denizcier: I cannot understand this view of Mr Narin's. He seems to be saying the state is also an employer, in which case it should know how management works, and that it and the SEE's should be judged by the same standards as private employers. He is saying, "Let's have a national wage policy to give everyone a standard wage." But let prices and profits takeoff on their own. This cannot be. Emphasis at the SEE's is rightly on the social aspects of hiring. When Ataturk founded the SEE's, he did so both in order that they might produce goods for the public weal and regulate the market and that the jobless might find jobs. This was a good thing. The SEE's have provided a very valuable service as regards social employment. Who knows what would have happened to Turkey if it had not been for this benevolent social hiring policy of the SEE's? It would be a shame to degrade the SEE's and turn them into private sector factories. On the contrary, the private sector should take the SEE's as an example on this score.

Sorgun: Mr Oguzman, what are your views on oversight of the unions, the number of branches of labor in Turkey, the branches-of-labor directive and the types of unions?

Oguzman: Union oversight has become a much-discussed topic lately. I would like to say that I do believe some financial oversight of the unions is necessary. I do not think, though, that the Ministry of Labor could provide this financial oversight. I would like to say that power of oversight in this regard should be given to the Ministry of Finance and that the income, money spent and where it is spent of both employer and labor unions should certainly be subject to inspection, but at specific times, not on demand.

Another matter usually emphasized is the proliferation of unions in Turkey. The proliferation of unions stems on one hand from the unions law itself and on the other from the provisions it contains bearing on determination of the union authorized to negotiate collective labor agreements. Consequently, it is necessary, by considering both at once, to act on this basis to resolve the Turkish

problem: Strong unionism goes hand in hand with responsible unionism. If strong and responsible unionism takes root, many collective bargaining problems will be automatically resolved. Strong unionism, however, requires "centralized unionism" instead of localized unionism. From this standpoint, it is necessary both to reduce the number of branches of labor in Turkey and to abandon the system whereby a union retains the ability to be a company shop and to negotiate collective labor agreements as well. Consequently, the adoption within this framework of a system of dealing with the unions at the branch-of-labor level and allowing the branch-of-labor unions to negotiate collective labor agreements will be a step toward correcting to an extent the deficiencies in the system.

Moreover, it is necessary to make it possible for workers employed by either small or large establishments not covered by collective agreement to have the benefits of a collective labor agreement. This can be brought about through introduction of the branch-of-labor contract system. However, Turkey's circumstances do not seem combatible with branch-of-labor contract planning. It is because of this that the solution at this point may be that the government should make it possible by directive for collective labor agreements which cover specific workers and have specific terms to be generalized to cover other workplaces -- and this may be a workplace with only three employees. There is a generalization clause today, but it is not enforced (except in the energy branch). The most important thing in generalizing collective labor agreements is the problem of extending a collective labor agreement, with all its provisions, to all workplaces. It is necessary to think about other alternatives in this regard also to eliminate the disadvantages.

Meanwhile some disadvantages may be eliminated, for instance, by implementing separate group contracts by region within the same branch of labor.

Narin: I would like to go further into the matters Mr Oguzman has suggested on generalization and standard contracts. The standardized contract is now an irrefutable reality in Turkey. The localized unionism of the past has produced many disadvantages. That workers should be affiliated with the large labor organizations and employers with the large employer organizations is a concept which has been adopted in principle. A collective labor contract negotiated by them needs to be a group-wide or nationwide contract. The generalization clause comes under government responsibility. The distinguished minister just said, "Governments look at the problem impartially and make laws according to the needs." That is to say, the generalization clause came into being in this way, but putting it into practice has not been possible. And this is illogical as well as impractical. I complain about the failure to implement generalization because of the broad mass of workers who are left out as well as the employers, though few, who avoid or try to avoid it. The contracts concluded should, realistically, extend to labor and management in Turkey.

Sorgun: Might we hear your views on the check-off system, that is, payroll deduction of union dues by employers who then pay the unions?

Narin: However foreign the term may be, it is a reality of concern to everyone who works in Turkey. Check-off is a system by which the employer collects the employee's dues and forwards them to the employee's union. Labor is organized today and has extensive potential. Indeed, labor organizations have reached the

point even of having a little leverage against governments, having become at home and abroad organizations able to create economic crises. It is no longer valid for them to say: "We cannot collect our money, let the employer do it." The worker takes his money to the labor union closest to him which produces a service for him. He would not, of course, give money to a union in some other field because he expects a return for his dues. Employer organizations take their money themselves and pay their own organizations. Employee and employer organizations are separate organizations with conflicting interests. This being the case, there is nothing so illogical as to tell the employer organization to "collect money from the worker and bring it to me."

Oguzman: Check-off is one of the most controversial topics in Turkey. It has its supporters and detractors. First of all, acceptance of the check-off system by law is the exception. Countries which accept check-off by force of law are the exception. Check-off is introduced through collective agreements. Another point is that it does not, in fact, make sense at first glance. But there is another reality involved. The member who goes and pays his dues, though it is legal, is the exception to the rule. If we were to say union members go and pay their dues, we would be speaking logically but not realistically. Since we believe in strong unionism, I do not think it would be possible to avoid check-off. If you eliminated the check-off, you would have to grant someone authority to collect these dues at the workplace. If such authority were granted, the employer would just compound his problems. In this case, it is necessary to keep the check-off but make the coverage more realistic.

Narin: Mr Oguzman, there is no country today where the check-off is accepted by law. As you said, it is done, or not done, by contract. There is no one today who would entertain the idea of denying the worker access to his union. Everyone, myself foremost, is opposed to that. Nations which cannot sustain economic peace are vulnerable to other explosions.

Denizcier: See, it is still the same thing. Worker wages are said to be too high. It is said the check-off system should be ended. Both are wrong. No one has the right to mislead public opinion.

We said that employee wages were inadequate and offered proof. Everyone knows this. Let's move on to the check-off. The check-off means strong unions, and strong unions mean social peace. It is this way in America, it is this way in Europe. There are many examples throughout the world. Mr Narin uses these countries as examples when it comes to business. Check-offs are used in almost all Western nations and they are very beneficial. It is necessary to understand this also. If we want the worker to be knowledgeable, disciplined and orderly, we will support strong unionism and therefore we will accept the check-off system. Otherwise, many small, weak unions will disappear and social peace will be disrupted. Employers complain about union competition on one hand and, on the other, oppose the check-off system at the cost of introducing a rift where small union competition would be fierce. It is hard to see any sincerity in this.

Besides, the check-off problem is a relationship between the worker and his union. The worker likes it, the union likes it, so why are the employers the ones concerned over it? It is not a matter of collective agreements, it is a matter of

law and union bylaws. They say the agreement should not make the final decision on worker wages, that a compulsory arbitration system should do it, but when it comes to a direct member-union relationship like the check-off, they say leave it up to the agreement, which means they mean something else.

Employer unions want to get the SEE's in their own structures, because they would get a per capita worker allowance from the state budget. They would get billions. They would still get them if the SEE's were in the red. They want this, but they begrudge the labor unions the dues check-off system. There is nothing about this view that speaks of good will or sincerity.

We want social peace, we want social tranquillity. In that case, we also want strong unions and the check-off system. We will absorb modern labor rights. If we begrudge our workers and unions the rights applied in Western nations, our love of democracy is suspect. It is well to heed this standard.

Sorgun: We have discussed employee-employer problems in this open forum. The employer representative, maintaining that the laws are one-sided and that the check-off system should be eliminated, has pointed out that he favors strong unionism and that it would be good to extend the terms of collective labor agreements to workers employed at workplaces without unions.

The labor representative said that labor peace could be ensured through realization of the principles of social justice and suggested that, if unions are to have financial oversight, oversight of employers would be appropriate also.

The academic view expressed was that, come what may, workers will continue to demand their rights in their contracts.

The minister of labor, stating that the existing deficiencies in practice would be rectified by the new laws under preparation, indicated that the state does not intend at any time to "intervene excessively" because he feels that such intervention would be contrary to the regime.

8349

CSO: 4654/50

FINAL STATISTICS FOR FOLKETING ELECTION REPORTED

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 14 Dec 81 p 5

[Text] The recount after the Folketing election Tuesday [8 December 1981] showed that the Socialist People's Party had gained one more seat in the Folketing and the Liberal Party had lost one more.

The result of the recount means that the Socialist People's Party becomes the third largest party in the Folketing with 21 seats, while the Liberal Party gets 20 seats.

The seat that the Liberal Party is losing had been allotted in the first count to Folketing member Peter Brixtofte, who ran in Vejle County.

The Socialist People's Party's extra seat is from Sønderjylland and goes to Inger Harms.

According to the recount the Socialist People's Party got 93 more votes than the Liberal Party in the contest for the 21st seat.

Inge Krogh In--All the Same

The recount also shifted the Christian People's Party's additional seat on the islands from the Copenhagen district to the county of Fyn, so that Folketing member Inge Krogh was reelected, and Flemming Kofod-Svendsen, the chairman of the party, was not elected after all.

The final percentage voting came to 83.2 percent.

There were 15,289 blank ballots and 4,592 invalid ballots cast.

For the other parties there no shifts in the recount.

The Final Result

For the final result see the table on the next page.

The recount of the personal votes, which will decide who gets the few seats that are still in doubt, is not yet available.

It is expected to be available Monday at the earliest.

	Votes	Seats
A Social Democratic Party	1,026,726	59
B Radical Liberal Party	160,053	9
C Conservative Party	451,478	26
E Single-Tax Party	45,174	0
F Socialist People's Party	353,373	21
I Socialist Workers Party	2,034	0
K Communist Party of Denmark	34,625	0
M Democratic Center	258,522	15
Q Christian People's Party	72,174	4
R Communist Workers Party [Maoist]	4,223	0
V Liberal Party	353,280	20
Y Socialist Left Party	82,711	5
Z Progressive Party	278,383	16
Others	807	

Total votes cast: 3,123,563.

Brixtofte Out--Again

Peter Brixtofte, the Liberal Party's spokesman on housing and social policy, has lost in a Folketing election for the second time at the age of only 32 years.

That happened even though until the election of 1977 he was put up in one of the surest Liberal Party districts in the country--the Kolding district, which he took over from former prime minister Poul Hartling.

Brixtofte was first elected in 1973 in the county of Roskilde, as the youngest member of the Folketing up to that time. He was elected there until 1977, when the party lost its representation in the county.

Peter Brixtofte can continue his political work, however, for he has just been reelected to the Farum district government.

8815

CSO: 3106/47

SUB AFFAIR, POLAND SEEN CAUSING LOSSES FOR LEFT SOCIALISTS

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 16 Dec 81 p 14

[Article by Per Knudsen: "Every Fifth Member of VS Has Left the Party"]

[Text] "The left Socialists are really without any leadership today, and in the course of the last 6 months over 500 members have left the party."

That was written by the two Socialist Left Party members of the Folketing, Mikael Waldorff and Steen Tinning, in the latest number of the Left Socialists' internal discussion organ.

The resignations correspond to approximately a 20 percent decline in membership.

To stop these disintegration trends in the party, the two Folketing members are calling for "a radical break" with the party's isolation and sectarianism.

"To us," Mikael Waldorff and Steen Tinning write, "this also means goodbye to the notion that the VS [Socialist Left Party] can and will develop into a 'cadre organization.'"

"In other words the idea that the revolutionary party consists of a number of uniformly schooled, superactive persons who are giving their lives to the party."

Against that background the two Folketing members propose among other things that the pledge of activism now required of members of the VS be dropped.

Deep Split

"Today the VS is a party that is deeply split in all directions," Mikael Waldorff and Steen Tinning write.

"We are well on the way to a situation in which the party's members are divided into two sets: those who put in most of their political work outside of the VS, at their places of work, in movements, and those who spend most of their time going to internal VS meetings, participating in the various discussions, factional work, branches, and committees."

In the two Folketing members' opinion there is a real question of an "undermining of the party democracy." In the form of debate that the various factions practice

there is in their opinion "nobody that is guided by the reality outside of the party," and they say of the party leadership that it "has long since ceased to function as a party leadership."

Plain and Simple

In spite of the great disagreements in the party, Mikael Waldorff and Steen Tinning do not think that there is, as they say, "any basis for a split in the party."

"The objective is," they write, "for the political content of the VS's work to be determined by our daily confrontation with reality."

That means that the party shall work on the basis of a work program that does not involve "party-prioritized discussions." Furthermore, the VS leadership should consist of "persons who actually have experience in political work."

In that way, Mikael Waldorff and Steen Tinning conclude, the VS can become "a party that reinforces the members' knowledge that *politics is actually a thing that is fairly plain and simple*" (the VS'ers' own italics).

VS and the Red Army

Other articles in the latest number of the Left Socialists' internal discussion organ are also concerned with "the crisis in the VS."

Thus, for example, the Revolutionary Socialists faction writes that it was a manifestation of a swerve to the right when the VS disapproved of the Soviet submarine's presence in Swedish waters.

Under the headline "Against the New 'Swamp' in the VS" the Revolutionary Socialists write:

"The submarine affair has thus had the effect that parts of the VS have gone toward the right and are helping today to make the Danish peace movement toothless and 'neutralistic' in contrast to the development that characterizes most of the other peace movements in Europe."

The VS faction reaches the--as they say themselves--"perhaps surprising conclusion that the Soviet Union's atomic armaments *are not an obstacle to the western peace movement, but one of its prerequisites*" (the VS'ers' own italics).

Concerning the Soviet arms build-up it is stated that it "is intended as a defense against imperialism. With respect to that function we are on the Red Army's side."

Betrays Its Idea

In a reader's letter in INFORMATION, 7 December, one of the persons involved in the launching of the VS at the time, Erik Sigsgaard, wrote:

"Soviet imperialism oppresses, threatens the dialog, destroys the peace. If the VS does not turn against it without hesitation, the party has betrayed its idea, its foundation: antiauthoritarian socialism. And lost the justification for its existence."

8815

CSO: 3106/47

KOIVISTO REVEALS VIEWS ON PRESIDENCY, SOCIALISM, USSR TIES

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 3 Jan 82 p 17

[Interview with Social Democratic Party presidential candidate Mauno Koivisto by Anneli Sundberg, date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] Mauno Koivisto could easily accumulate 301 electoral votes if he were to receive one electoral vote for at least every two groans he let out during this interview.

The deputy president's sighs on one December morning in the most holy director's office of the Bank of Finland were indescribably equivocal every time he had to answer a question which in his opinion was too simple, stupid, impetuous, worn-out, or not straightforward -- and there were many.

Sculptor Kimmo Pyykko, who has made a relief of Mauno Koivisto, described his subject in words also: "Honest and open, wise in combining forces, and harsh in promoting a policy".

Koivisto drives such a harsh line that he will not consent to say: I am a socialist. Such an answer is in his opinion, indeed, the epitome of simplicity, a free weapon in the hands of his opponents.

The presidential position can be lost in Finland even with a large electoral faction. Mauno Koivisto is prepared to concede defeat if this should happen. This is democracy, says the people's favorite.

Even though Mauno Koivisto is not the slave of any known system, he will submit the resignation of his government to a new president if he loses since this is the custom.

If he wins the elections, he will become the formal-constitutional president, in whose hands the constitution will be more suitable than the whip of autocracy, thinks the Social Democratic Party leadership. Koivisto himself will not say anything. He will disclose the details of his style of rule only when the doors of the presidential palace are opened to him, if even then.

[Question] Whose idea was it not to begin the election campaign until the last minute?

[Answer] I proceeded from this premise from the very beginning for several reasons. I am completely certain that if I had acted in any other way, then it would have been said that it is a wonder he is hanging around these parts and is the presidential job so unimportant that it does not require any attention.

[Question] Thus the idea of a late campaign was yours?

[Answer] Precisely, precisely.

[Question] Did you use your position as deputy president as a pretext for a late campaign and for making your opponents nervous?

[Answer] Are we now going to go through all the possible motives? Some may take a leave of absence. I do not have such a choice. This job must be accomplished.

[Question] I suspect that the other candidates are jealous of your popularity. Were you envious of Virolainen's certainty that he would be nominated, Holkeri's good taste, or Jansson's reputation as a ladies' man?

[Answer] (groans) Are there many of these questions? These are questions for a women's magazine.

[Question] We have many women readers.

[Answer] Well, I will answer: to the point 'no'.

[Question] Whom do you consider to be the most dangerous opponent?

[Answer] I have not given it any thought.

Defiance in the Spring

[Question] Would your election position have been worse if the government had fallen in the spring and Ahti Karjalainen, for example, had become prime minister?

[Answer] (groans) I have not thought about it.

[Question] While defying Kekkonen you kept your government intact. Would you have acted in the same manner 10 years ago?

[Answer] The question is posed impetuously to a certain degree, but if I should answer in spite of the question, I was, indeed, of the opinion previously that if the government falls, then it should be in the parliament. I was of this opinion in the fall of 1971 and in the spring of 1975.

[Question] Did the SDP leadership provide support against the president in the spring struggle?

[Answer] In spite of the manner in which the question is posed I would say that there were no problems.

Career

[Question] What do you think of the argument that you began to make preparations to become the president of Finland 20 years ago already?

[Answer] (groans) How do they arrive at 20 years?

[Question] I am referring to opponents' intimations that you have had your goals set on the presidency since you left night school.

[Answer] Those are, of course, incorrect assumptions. I wonder whether there are such people who operate on such long-term plans.

[Question] Are you driven by a consuming ambition or have you just been in the right place at the right time?

[Answer] I am always fascinated by the idea that one looks first. When I have complained about something, they say, do it yourself, and it was not long before one became involved in all kinds of things.

[Question] Was there any competition between you and Chairman Kalevi Sorsa for the candidacy at any stage?

[Answer] If there was, I had no knowledge of it.

[Question] How did Sorsa smooth out the path for the SDP candidacy?

[Answer] Indeed, we talked about it in several different connections and in addition I heard him talk to others. I do not think I need to say any more at this time.

Payment

[Question] What are you prepared to pay for the support of the Communists in the election?

[Answer] It is probable that no one will have a simple majority in the electoral college. Attempts will be made to conduct negotiations between the electoral factions and seek support. In my opinion it is wrong to call it trading. The question is, of course, what price the various parties are prepared to pay for the Communists' votes, for example.

[Question] Will you allow the Vennamoites into the government if they vote for you?

[Answer] The question is incorrectly posed.

[Question] How would you pay for the support of the Constitutionalists?

[Answer] The question is incorrectly posed.

[Question] President Kekkonen rewarded friendship and punished disobedience. Will you follow his example as president?

[Answer] The question is incorrectly posed.

[Question] Would you keep the present chief of staff?

[Answer] I have nothing against him.

[Question] Would you purge the Foreign Ministry of the Center Party's supremacy?

[Answer] Normally a change takes place in the Foreign Ministry. It is an abnormal phenomenon if there is no change of personnel, but I have a strong trust in the abilities of the personnel of the Foreign Ministry to manage affairs. I have not seen anything that is partisan or improper in the actions of the Foreign Ministry.

[Question] As president would you be able to forget friends and your old party when you begin appointing high offices in the country?

[Answer] I have consistently adopted the position that for each job there is an individual from whom society will receive the best service. Everyone will manage according to their own abilities. This is the only lasting policy. Anything else will result in absurdity.

[Question] Are you an enthusiastic letter writer?

[Answer] No.

[Question] Thus there will be no prolific letter writing if you become president?

[Answer] Perhaps, it is best not to come to that conclusion.

Government

[Question] Whom would you appoint as your first prime minister?

[Answer] The normal round of discussions will be conducted after the elections, but I believe that everyone expects that we should look in the direction of the Center Party.

[Question] Would the name be Paavo Vayrynen?

[Answer] I will only say that I understand that such an idea (looking toward the Center Party) is in the air.

[Question] If the Center Party loses the presidential election, will it become a permanent prime ministerial party during your term of office?

[Answer] I cannot imagine that such issues will be resolved in connection with the presidential elections.

[Question] Whom would you rather see in the government, the SKDL [Finnish Peoples Democratic League] or the Conservative Party?

[Answer] This would be a long story. If the SKDL and the Conservative Party cannot fit into the same government, then the solution lies with the SDP and, of course, the Center Party also. It is not a question of the president's pleasures, but on what basis cooperation is to be accomplished.

[Question] If you are not elected, do you intend to continue as prime minister or will you request an immediate resignation?

[Answer] Such a tradition has come about. It is not prescribed by law that the government resign after a presidential election. In my opinion this tradition will be observed since nothing else has been agreed upon and the government will submit its resignation.

[Question] Jansson offered to allow you to stay on as prime minister if he is elected.

[Answer] But a resignation will be submitted in any case. This is in accordance with tradition.

[Question] Do you consider that 25 years will be sufficient if you are elected president?

[Answer] That seems quite appropriate.

[Question] Would one term, 6 years, be sufficient?

[Answer] Hmmm. It is not, of course, too little, but the question in my opinion is badly posed.

Moscow

[Question] Do you consider Karjalainen's Moscow trip as an insult since nothing has come of your trip to the Soviet Union?

[Answer] (groans) Are there many of these questions?

[Question] Not concerning Karjalainen.

[Answer] As for the first part, I would have to say no. On the other hand, as far as the latter is concerned, I have nothing to add to what I have already said last spring in various connections.

[Question] Do you believe an invitation will come quickly if you win the elections?

[Answer] Are there many of these questions? Whatever I say will be incorrectly interpreted. If I say yes, they will say, aha, he is hanging around.

[Question] How well do you know the Soviet leadership?

[Answer] Presently not very well.

[Question] Will your election as president mean that Sorsa will have to remain in the leadership of the Social Democratic Party for at least 6 years in order to guarantee relations with the Soviet Union?

[Answer] (groans) Another such question. I agree with the ideas that have been presented that no one can guarantee someone else.

[Question] Do you pursue the sport of hunting?

[Answer] No.

[Question] Would you put a rifle in your hands if you were invited to Zavidovo to go wild boar hunting?

[Answer] It was Kekkonen who said that he went hunting because of his official duties, but he is a fisherman by nature. I think that many go hunting because of official duties at which time one must apparently put a rifle in one's hands. I remember when Hetemaki once said that he, indeed, goes hunting, but jerks just enough to miss the target.

[Question] Kekkonen was a despised man in the SDP for 20 years. Did you support Kekkonen out of a general protest or because of far-sightedness -- you saw the fall of 1981?

[Answer] A person's motivations should not be questioned in such a way, but I do remember from my own motivations that this (hatred of Kekkonen) became a matter of poor taste for me.

On The Outside

[Question] You were not needed in the country's government for 7 years (1972--79). Why?

[Answer] Indeed, there was some discussion at that time, but I would rather not go into any detail. I put the Bank of Finland at the top of the list in my order of priorities.

[Question] The prime minister's job was not offered?

[Answer] No.

[Question] Your popularity exceeded Kekkonen's, but this was not apparently the reason you were left on the outside?

[Answer] Not to my understanding. I do not see that it had anything to do with the issue.

[Question] Do you consider that you owe a debt of gratitude to Rafael Paasio for your present position?

[Answer] He is one of those people who have played a rather central role in forming my career.

[Question] Whom in the Social Democratic Party would you want to be president if you yourself were not running?

[Answer] Are there many of these questions?

[Question] No. Shall we skip it?

[Answer] Well, Kalevi Sorsa.

Socialism

[Question] Are you a socialist?

[Answer] I was asked this five times yesterday. I have always added something. To me it is an issue which should not be overworked.

[Question] Are you a socialist?

[Answer] It is not enough that I answer this question with qualifications, but everyone wants that I would answer it simply so that the answer could be used. Can people classify others in such a way, label them, and state that we now know everything about them. In my opinion I have given several good answers to this question, but they only want me to give a simple, stupid answer.

[Question] Is a socialist the same as a reformist?

[Answer] There are many kinds of socialists, reformists, among others. No reasonable person can believe in the Marxist-Hegelian concept that there will be a future utopian society in which there will be no conflicts and in which social development would come to a stop. The concept of eliminating conflicts is dangerous in that the elimination of daily conflicts leaves only a major conflict.

[Question] You must find Marxist ideas to be foreign?

[Answer] I have never been a Marxist socialist.

Foreign Policy

[Question] The far left has abandoned foreign policy unanimity by arguing that Finland should not emphasize neutrality. Do you agree with this concept?

[Answer] Rightfully, it is possible to discuss nuances within the framework of the YYA [Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid] Agreement, but not go too far beyond it. If it is considered that the agreements are wrong and if it is considered that we should act in a different manner than we have so far, that is a different matter. Such thinking should be accorded a negative attitude.

[Question] Is the term Finlandization a term of derision?

[Answer] To me that term is used when it is not actually being applied to Finland. The idea behind it is that Finland once had a rather strong position which it has lost because of a soft policy or a policy of friendship. But when did Finland have such a strong position? There was not much to be lost in the situation in the fall of 1944.

[Question] Do you support a ban on the exporting of weapons?

[Answer] Our own production apparently presupposes a certain amount of exporting even though it seems quite barbarous when one considers the kind of advertisements that are being disseminated around the world and to what purpose our weapons may be used.

[Question] Has your position as deputy president helped you to learn about the management of foreign policy?

[Answer] In Finland the president has directed foreign policy and no one else has any experience in it. Now I have a certain amount of experience.

[Question] Is it difficult?

[Answer] No difficult situations have arisen.

10576

CSO: 3107/47

KOIVISTO: IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS PRESIDENT SHOULD STAND ASIDE

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 30 Dec 81 p 8

[Article: "President to Remain in Background in Domestic Policy"]

[Excerpts] The president should not make decisions on all issues, but his primary concentration should be on directing foreign policy. Thus stated Prime Minister Mauno Koivisto, the Social Democratic presidential candidate, who officially opened his election campaign in Pori on Tuesday.

He pointed out that decisions concerning the development of society actually belong to the government and the parliament even though the president also has considerable authority in domestic policy.

In his election campaign Koivisto wants to emphasize the role of the parliament and the government while the president remains in the background in domestic policy questions. Koivisto was amazed that many of those who have complained about the weakened role of the parliament now want the president to make decisions on all issues.

In the election debate to date according to Koivisto many domestic policy issues have been treated as if the assumption is that the president will be involved in all these issues.

Koivisto himself began to touch upon various questions in his election speeches, but not in the sense that he was presenting a political program to be adopted by parliament but rather as a presentation of views and ideas for a constructive discussion.

In Koivisto's opinion the primary question in this presidential election is to ensure the continuity of our foreign policy line, the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line. The president's task is to direct foreign policy, and that is as it should be. The obligations and authority given to the president by the constitution in this respect should be retained, stated Koivisto.

Internal Unity Is Paramount

The country's internal unity is of great significance for continuing a consistent foreign policy, stated Koivisto. Mutual understanding and civic harmony are now even more important since concern and unrest have increased in the world.

Koivisto felt that the various groups and factions in Finland could drift away from each other to a certain degree in the forthcoming days. However, he urged them to avoid all words and actions that could present obstacles to that unified path on which we must soon travel.

Koivisto stated that Finland's development has been positive. Finland has not built its reputation in the world just on the basis of the success and clarity of its economic policy, but we have also been given praise for the fact that the national unity by which this policy has been built has been conspicuous and exceptional in an unstable world.

The good and confidential neighborly relations with the Soviet Union that are dependent on the YYA [Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid] Agreement have according to Koivisto undergone continuous strengthening and development, and the active, peaceful policy of neutrality has won international recognition. As a result of this, Finland has been able to make important contributions to the strengthening of international peace and security, stated Koivisto.

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CSO: 3107/47

PAPER URGES STEPS TO COUNTER CYCLICAL DOWNTURN

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 29 Nov 81 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] In an atmosphere hyped up by the presidential election and warmed by the afterglow of the Finnish economic miracle, cool weather blew in as the country's highest economic leadership published its chilling forecast.

The predictions on the economic development conflict with each other, and the uncertainty over the future is great. On one hand, the demand is expected to start growing again as early as at the end of next year, and some believe that the United States' economy will soon improve. On the other hand, unemployment is predicted to increase to a record high--it is in fact known to have gone up everywhere in Europe--and the predictions are being adjusted in a more pessimistic direction.

But regardless of how accurate the developmental predictions are, the current changes only make the present situation even worse as far as Finland is concerned. Companies are debilitated by insufficient capital, suffering from finance structures that are too weak in view of the intensification of the competition that is sure to come. Our competitiveness has weakened and is certain to continue weakening.

Even though most agree that we have some good years behind us, the benefits of those years were not sufficiently great to balance out the preceding bad years. Study of statistical facts gives ample proof of this.

We should now dispassionately and in detail investigate the methods that will enable us to maintain our competitiveness and to secure expansion of our markets, which is so obviously necessary.

The procedural program of the Confederation of Finnish Industries springs no surprises through new content. And why should it? These same procedures have been on a wanted list for years, and when occasionally availed of, have clearly proved their significance and operational value. But the fact that they are repeatedly presented as proposals shows the urgent need for decisions.

Hardly anyone in this country has yet denied the need for industrial investments. Their direct influence on the employment situation as well as their indirect influence on competitiveness continue to be undisputable facts.

If it is possible to claim in Finland that the inability of certain entrepreneurial directors is responsible for about 80,000 unemployed, one should also dare to ask the question how much has the increased number of unemployed resulted from lack of effectiveness of the decision-makers, members of the government and the state apparatus itself. Only enterprises that are strong and profitable and believe in their projected goals can create conditions for growth, competitiveness and, through those means, also for employment.

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CS0: 3107/33

BRIEFS

KIVISTO ATTACKS GOVERNMENT POLICIES--SKDL [Finnish Peoples Democratic League] presidential candidate Kalevi Kivisto, who is also a minister of education in the present government, criticized the government for the fact that it "has not expressed any kind of concern for the growing unemployment or the continuing high rate of inflation". Kivisto spoke in Salo and Turku. "In the opinion of the People's Democratic ministerial faction and in spite of the presidential elections, the government should concentrate its main attention even during this lame duck period on lasting measures for securing employment opportunities and permanently slowing down inflation." In Kivisto's opinion the government should approve a 5-year economic policy program before this government term is over. [Text] [Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 30 Dec 81 p 8] 10576

UUSITALO WANTS NEW GOVERNMENT--Interior Minister Eino Uusitalo (Center Party), who is acting as deputy prime minister, considers it important that after the presidential elections in January a broad-based majority government be formed in the country as soon as possible. In New Year's greetings delivered on Tuesday to the STT [Finnish News Bureau] Uusitalo expressed his hope that "the foundation would be laid for a successful Finnish parliament" in the presidential election campaign. Uusitalo also mentioned that rising unemployment and an inflation rate that is persistently higher than the rate in competitive countries will be the most important problems of the future in economic policy. The management of these problems will require a financial contribution on the part of the state, but Uusitalo points out that room for movement does not seem to be even close to satisfactory since the need for state funding is already great as a consequence of policy to date. In examining economic prospects Uusitalo found a ray of hope in the fact that the investment recession generally connected with present economic trends is abating. In his greetings he also mentioned that the totality of the government's economic policy corresponds exceptionally well with the demands of market conditions. Uusitalo refers to the fact that the effect of financial policy next year will be the restoration of growth in total production and monetary policy will be not be as tight. [Text] [Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 30 Dec 81 p 8] 10576

KIVISTO SUGGESTS SKDL PROGRAM--SKDL Chairman and presidential candidate Kalevi Kivisto presented the SKDL's government program on Sunday for a government of the left and the center after the presidential elections. According to Kivisto government cooperation of the left and the center should be continued, but this will only be possible if "cooperation is developed to a new level". According to Kivisto "policy should be turned toward the accomplishment of equality, solidarity, and social

reform work". According to the program proposed by Kivisto a basic income for every individual must be secured by a cooperation of the left and the center. The number of jobs must be decisively increased and unemployment security must be improved by a new employment program, and emphasis in social policy should be placed on the most destitute. In addition, the SKDL proposes "a comprehensive social policy which will provide people with an opportunity to arrange their own lives and to cultivate a satisfying lifestyle based on human values and free of oppressive economic concerns or a condescending bureaucracy". The SKDL's government proposals also contain points for increasing the power of the parliament, creating "real local area democracy in the reform of intermediate administration", and developing forms of direct democratic action. In addition, foreign policy should be made more active, disarmament should be promoted, and relations between Finland and the Soviet Union should be developed. "We are certain that this kind of direction would bring a new spirit to cooperation and would create political stability in a progressive direction," stated Kivisto. He spoke in Jyvaskyla and Jamsa. [Text] [Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 4 Jan 82 p 14] 10576

CSO: 3107/47

OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON ADVANTAGES OF CIVIL SERVICE BILL

Athens TA NEA in Greek 28 Dec 81 p 3

[Interview with Minister to the Premier Ag. Koutsogiorgas]

[Text] "The measures provided by the Civil Service bill do not constitute the implementation of today's government program in this sector. We promised the people administrative reorganization with new institutions and new methods. But to get to that point, we must purge the situation prevailing today in administration, a situation which emerged during the 7 years of dictatorship and the additional 7 years of government by the Right. Only then will we be able to move forward in the implementation of the plan for the country's 'Administrative Rehabilitation' which as a draft is ready to be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies together with the economic and social program of the government during 1982."

With the above phrases Minister to the Premier Agamemnon Koutsogiorgas clarified yesterday in an interview with TA NEA the objectives of the draft law and the decision of the government of Change to move forward to structural changes in a sector which for years now has been marked by the phenomena of "red tape" and "favor peddling" as one reinforces the other.

Red Tape--Favor Peddling

The basic and immediate targets of the draft law, which is expected to be among the first to come up for discussion at the Chamber of Deputies as soon as it resumes its sessions, is the renewal of the state machinery, the suppression of red tape and the elimination of favor peddling from everyday life. This is the government's aim with the 14 articles of the bill which was made public on Christmas eve and which was formally introduced to the Chamber of Deputies.

The interview with Minister to the Premier Koutsogiorgas is as follows:

NEA: The first article of the draft law refers to the 35-year limit. What is the change being effected through it?

Koutsogiorgas: The 35-year limit [of service] exists today but we make its implementation stricter and we extend its application. We are aiming at the elimination of personal exceptions introduced by the ND government in 1975 under

Law 22 and especially we extend it to the employees of [state] agencies, banks and institutions controlled by the state. In this way there will be renewal in personnel and renewal in the methods and systems of those sectors.

The Directors General

NEA: Possibly the most basic change introduced by the bill is the abolition of the positions of directors general and acting directors general. How many are in this group and what will be their fate?

Koutsogiorgas: There are no more than 250 high paid individuals who are not being fired; they are retiring. I prefer not to discuss how some of them reached the summit of the civil service hierarchy, but the fact is that the government will give them pensions for their own good and for the state's good. To show that there is no ill will on the part of the government toward this category of employees, I like to mention the fact that we added a provision which will facilitate the retirement of those who have not yet completed the necessary years to receive pension.

NEA: What will the state gain by the elimination of these positions--and we don't mean in terms of money alone.

Koutsogiorgas: First of all, those who are aware how the civil service operates know that these approximately 250 directors general and acting directors general are not only responsible for the "red tape" and "favor peddling" which plagues our country but they are also the principle factors of these unacceptable conditions. The reasons are obvious and they are none other than their personal self-promotion and self-preservation under various bureaucratic pretexts. The orgy that took place in these positions--and I think that I am justified in using this loaded word--is shown by comparing the situation inherited by ND and that which it passed on. In 1974 there were 41 positions of directors general and today there are 97. There was not a single position of an acting director general and today there are 117. While there were then 1,580 directors, today there are 4,598. I think that in view of these facts whoever speaks of an "orgy" may be regarded as merely lenient. Maybe for this reason alone the current ND leader should be more careful in his comments. We are not the ones who are destroying the state. His party took care of the destruction and we are struggling to rehabilitate from the ruins a public administration which will be in the service of the Greek citizens.

Three Levels

NEA: In what way will the citizen benefit from these changes since he is not interested in whether or not "directors general" and "acting [directors]" exist? His problem is how to expedite his affairs without being sent from one office to another and without being entangled in the gears of the bureaucracy.

Koutsogiorgas: The abolition of the aforementioned positions and the projected establishment of three grade levels is the first step in combatting "red tape." Later there will be more steps but even the arrangements introduced by the bill will speed up the functioning of the state machinery.

Today every document needs signatures by seven individuals provided they agree among themselves. With the new arrangement we reduce the signatures to three, let alone that under the present system the employees are turned into "responsible-irresponsible" officials who avoid giving even the most logical solution and send up any issue to their superiors. Our target is not only to rush "red tape" but also to make the employees responsible and worthy of their identities as public servants.

24 Salary Levels

NEA: It was announced that with the abolition of these senior positions the state will save 345,246,426 drachmas [approximately 6 million dollars]. Does that mean that the lower level civil servants will benefit?

Koutsogiorgas: Yes, undoubtedly, but only from saving this amount. Article 3 of the bill disengages the salary of the employee from his grade [rank]. Basically there will be three grades--raporteurs [recorders] (who will be in the majority), section chiefs (who will be fewer) and directors (who will be very, very few). By contrast, instead of three salary levels, there will be 24 [in-step] salary levels which will be determined by an employee's years in service. In this way the salaries of civil servants will be increased without them having to chase after a promotion, a fact which lead today's situation to one in which there are hundreds of directors in certain industries. What was happening until today has been tragic. Theoretically an employee today waited for a lifetime to reach from the 12th to the 2nd grade and the total salary increases he realized [through all those years] were received by a director of the 2nd grade within a few minutes after jumping to the 1st grade [promoted] through partisan criteria. Let me clarify another point. The 350 million which the state will save through the elimination of the "high paid persons" will be used to improve the salaries of the lower grades.

The Boards

NEA: Article 4 and 7 refer to the abolition of committees, boards and other collective organs. It is known that even before the election, PASOK had declared that it was going to abolish all these boards. Are the reasons for doing so today merely financial?

Koutsogiorgas: Financial, yes. Basically, we believe that all these organs that the Right has transformed into an institution literally are nothing but a subterfuge for the unequal distribution of employee incomes with the additional compensation that had been instituted, but they also became organs for making anti-social and anti-people decisions. The government is convinced that in their overwhelming majority these boards were an alibi for the incompetent or for those who were seeking a loophole to subvert the law. We will keep very few [boards] which are truly indispensable but those who will participate will not receive any special compensation. For us it is unthinkable to compensate someone additionally because he takes part in a meeting. It is part of his job. Of course, if he happened to work overtime to take part in the meeting he will receive overtime pay and nothing more.

NEA: Yet, the government will need advisers and associates. How are they going to be selected?

Koutsogiorgas: It is obvious that in the key positions of the state machinery, the agencies, banks and institutions, we will place persons we believe can work within the spirit and according to the directives of the government. We would be naive if we were to implement a progressive policy with reactionary associates or persons who want to undermine us. Article 8 of the draft law provides the procedure for implementing the institution of special advisers and scientific associates. They will be totally independent of the organizational and rank hierarchy of the services so that they will not create problems. In this way [we will be able] to utilize the new scientists/professionals to avoid losing all this educated manpower which is seeking alternative employment abroad.

NEA: Article 9 states that the term of the governors, deputy governors and other officials of the Legal Entities of Public Law [NPDD], public agencies, banks, etc., will be terminated. What reasons led to this arrangement?

Koutsogiorgas: There was no other solution. The ND Party tried even on the eve of the election to create problems for the state. We are doing nothing more than removing those whom the ND ministers hastened to appoint in those positions. Naturally there would be no problem if they had shown elementary sensitivity and had resigned immediately after the election. Instead they are trying to get compensation totalling millions of drachmas. But they are not going to get a single drachma. They were appointed through favoritism and they will be dismissed by law.

Those Who Passed the Examinations

NEA: Article 14 is one of the most sensitive because it deals with the lists of those who succeeded in various qualifying examinations. The government decided to end their force. This is something that affects 20,000 individuals who succeeded in such examinations since 1977. Why did you take this decision?

Koutsogiorgas: To begin with, the validity of those lists ends on 31 April 1982 and I must confess that it was not an easy decision but it was the only fair one. It was practically impossible to absorb them. At the same time, it would be impossible to call new examinations and consequently to hire new candidates for many years. We want to assure the Greek people that in the future the hirings into the civil service will be effected with objective criteria and meritocracy.

Koutsogiorgas concluded:

"I repeat that this draft law is the first in a series of measures which will renew public administration and will eliminate red tape and favor peddling. There will be others to enable our country to acquire a state machinery worthy of today's needs and of the expectations of the Greek citizen."

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CSO: 4621/125

ND STATEMENT ATTACKS CIVIL SERVICE BILL

Athens TA NEA in Greek 28 Dec 81 p 3

[Text] The New Democracy Party issued a statement which underlines the following:

"Instead of modernizing the [Public] Administration as promised by the government, the draft law it presented surrenders the state to totalitarianism, discourages employee activity and productivity, destroys the structure of the administration, suddenly slaughters thousands of experienced or veteran workers of Public Administration and public agencies and presents the state as a dishonorable and unreliable [employer]."

The statement claims specifically that with the draft law the government:

- "1. Decapitates to a large extent the administrative hierarchy, indirectly lifting the constitutional provisions concerning civil service tenure at the higher ranks.
- "2. Politicizes directly the administration which is [expected] to be neutral, replacing the service criteria of the directors general with the political criteria of the secretaries general and of their newly appointed associates at the highest levels.
- "3. Introduces into the administration by the back door individuals without due process under the guise of advisers and associates who will make decisions without responsibility, pushing aside the service cadres of all levels, spreading confusion and anarchy, and inevitably injecting their decisions with the criteria of partisan interest.
- "4. Discourages morally the activity of the civil servants.
- "5. Acquires the unchecked possibility of placing officials of the partisan dogma throughout the hierarchical ladder.
- "6. Attempts an unprecedented Jacobin-like persecution against thousands of physicians, lawyers, etc., as well as responsible officials appointed years ago to the services, agencies and other Legal Entities of Public Law, with the objective of having those positions taken over by the party's stalwarts who have been anxiously waiting in the wings and who want to get their share from the plundering of the state.

"7. Abolishes the counselors of the nomarchies who were selected through strict qualifying examinations.

"8. As the final step [it] throws out without compensation, in a morally and constitutionally unacceptable manner, a large number of Public Administration associates, thus undermining the state's prestige in the eyes of its citizens.

"9. The argument that presumably with the abolition of three levels of senior positions [the state] will save 350 million drachmas with which [the government] will raise the salary of the low paid employees is presented for the consumption of stupid people. The Greeks are not stupid."

The statement concludes:

"ND declares that it will strongly oppose the enactment of this bill, that it will fight against the partisan control of the state. It further declares that it will restore the sound and modern organization of Public Administration and will return to their positions the victims of the partisan pogrom."

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CSO: 4621/125

STRATEGIC DEFENSE EXPERT COMMENTS ON CHANGING NEEDS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 12 Nov 81 p 2

[Article: "Convincingness of Defense Capability Now More Important," a commentary by Lt Col Esko Nieminen, instructor of strategy at the Sotakorkeakoulu [War College], former Defense Ministry chief of UN surveillance office and during 1976-77 commander of Finnish peace maintenance forces in the Sinai]

[Text] "Governments have gone insane. They no longer manage affairs according to the wishes of the people. People do not want wars, only governments do."

That quotation contains the gist of a speech from the head table by the Irish Nobel prize winner Sean MacBride in San Remo in 1981. The speech was made at a dinner for the Round Table organization conference which consisted of participants in a Geneva diplomatic conference.

It was necessary for the honored and recognized man of peace, though at the same time an Irish patriot, to return to the subject of world peace. Disregarding a few heckling calls, the speech was nonetheless accepted with reservations. The urgings of the aging (85) Nobel prize winner to form an opposition by means of an organization outside of the government did not appear to arouse the enthusiasm of the hearers.

Many questions remained unanswered in the minds of the participants: Does MacBride's idea of the irresponsibility of government hold true? Are revolution and opposition the only means that the people have for influencing those in authority? Cannot a common language be found in the discourse between the man in the street and the decision makers? And finally, one to cap them all: Is the entire world, without any opposition, headed toward a third world war?

In the opinion of many researchers and statesmen a third world war is already underway. That theory was most recently expressed by former United States President Richard Nixon. In his book, "The Real War," he bases his argument on the world war currently raging around us, mainly on experiences gained during his term in office.

The Nuclear Weapon

Without delving more deeply into the theories presented by the various researchers, it is possible to present their findings in a brief recapitulation.

By the spring of 1944 it had become conclusively clear to Stalin that Germany would be defeated in World War II. At this time there began the race for world supremacy with her greatest ally, the United States. In practice it meant that the support of opposition movements operating in various countries was to be directed solely to the communist movements and diverting the communist movements into opposing all other movements.

At about this same time Stalin may have received the first hints of a nuclear weapon being developed by the Americans. On the basis of this information Stalin instructed his scientists to prepare an estimated completion date of the new weapon and also the date when the Soviet Union itself would also have the weapon.

The calculations indicated that World War II would be resolved through use of the atomic bomb. Prior to that, the field was to be made most favorable, from the viewpoint of the Eastern bloc, for the final setting. After that, concentrated propaganda would be directed against nuclear war, which was to continue until the Soviet Union itself would have the weapon.

The Soviet Union succeeded in acquiring a nuclear weapon of its own in 1949. Although it did not yet have the capability--for lack of an adequate transportation system--to present a threat to the other superpower, a decisive balance had been created. A situation had been reached in which the leaders of both superpowers knew that no winner could emerge unscathed in the next world war. Then when the armaments developed to the stage that both sides had attained an effective counterblow, it became clear that there could be no winner at all in a world war waged with nuclear weapons.

All this was predictable on the basis of calculations even before the end of World War II. The logical conclusion was that if the race for world supremacy was to be continued, a world war would have to be waged by means differing totally from conventional means. This called for a powerful worldwide ideological struggle in which the methods of operation would be propaganda, influencing the governments of countries internally, the use of means that weaken the governments that are in opposition to the Soviet system, and acts of sabotage.

Also, the decisive influence that the rapidly depleting, unequally distributed and marginal natural resources have on the world's ability to govern itself gradually became all the more evident. The one that would control these would also rule the world.

Nixon's theory is based to the largest degree on the decisive significance of natural resources as a motivational force in the aspirations for power. He uses it to explain the major strategy tie-in between political events and both the Persian Gulf and African wars. According to this explanation, all of the most notable crises involving the 150 wars that the world has experienced since World War II appear entwined in a logically advancing series of events in the power struggle between the two superpowers.

The theory of survival can be used by the Western countries to counter the theory of imperialism of the socialist countries in the waging of the third world war. According to the latter theory, the heritage of the colonial period has merely changed form in our time in countries having a free economic system, namely, to political dependence as a result of economic dependence, which in turn leads to exploitation.

The exploitation in turn creates a need to eliminate dependence. When viewed against the background of exploitation, any external assistance given to efforts toward the gaining independence becomes condonable. In the event of war, this assistance is thus considered to be "justified."

The Cloak of Morality

The citizen of a small country that is seeking neutrality must view both of these explanations with external coolness. They must be viewed as reflections of the bipolarization that continues to prevail in the world, though continuously diminishing in degree. The ideologies that seek world supremacy, or any strategy that seeks expansion need, in order to gain the approval of nations, a method of explanation clothed in the cloak of morality, although it may hide a gross utilitarian need.

The theory of a third world war already being in progress may come as an additional shock to the citizen of today who has already been intimidated almost to extremes by the terrors of a nuclear war. Logically interpreted, the issue ought preferably to consist of a comforting message. If we believe in the irrefutability of that theory, then that fact in itself ought to signal to us that reality cannot be any different.

The superpowers will not allow their dissensions to develop to the extent that they would be cause for a nuclear war. They will use other means. That need not mean, however, that nuclear explosives will never again be used in the world.

The fact that the technology for the manufacture of the bomb is within the reach of many nations has been known for years. There is reason to believe that several of the new countries that are not signatories of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation Of Nuclear Weapon may already have this technology. However, this would then involve a limited extreme measure intended for use against a definite traditional enemy, or as a final measure to be used on the verge of defeat.

Reliability

No such country exists within the confines of the Nordic countries. Nor is there any reason to believe that there exists anywhere in the world a country that could feel that the policy of any Nordic country could be so much in opposition to its own that it would resort to the use of a nuclear weapon against that country. A war waged with nuclear weapons truly does not appear probable in the Nordic area.

When the fear of total destruction recedes, a properly thinking citizen regains hope also for a secure future for his own country. It means also that preparation for a reliably effective defense is not only fully possible, but also decisively important. During the spring of 1981 the commander of the Defense Forces made a so-called "God's will" speech in which he showed logically that Finland finds itself--though of itself an area of little interest--to be within an area that is geographically of strategic importance. That has come about because of military and political developments and because of a reevaluation of the economic importance of the maritime portion of the area. Finland's position now requires an even greater dependability on its defense capabilities.

Attempts are being made in many ways, however, to dilute this dependability. One of the most common ways is to belittle the importance of the defense efforts in the face of important modern weapons technology capabilities. However, the Third Parliamentary Defense Committee arrived at a different conclusion. Its view of the capabilities of the Defense Forces and of the Frontier Guard Establishment are that, "They are able quite satisfactorily to conduct the surveillance of Finland's land area and airspace, with the exception of identification of flights over southwest Finland, and to guarantee that Finland cannot be taken by surprise." The committee also believes in the increasing of the flexible effectiveness which, under conditions of the greatest threat, could mean large-scale mobilization.

Performance Capability

The committee did, however, clearly see a most dangerous trend of development, the progressive weakening in the performance capability of the ground forces. Unless this trend is shortly reversed, the most important element in Finnish defense may, because it is outmoded particularly in respect to mobility, firepower, and combat endurance, become ineffectual in the face of halting an attacker.

But no logical recommendation has been made for correcting the deficiencies. The committee procrastinates in a way that cannot be logically explained in light of the analysis of the performance capability. The commander of the Defense Forces has already directed attention to the sluggishness in scheduled basic procurements. The expenditure framework was determined by cutting back the minimum estimate recommended by the experts by 550 million markkas. The recommendation for correcting the surveillance deficiency in southwest Finland consisted of only half of a fighter-destroyer squadron, which the commander of the air forces immediately indicated was uneconomical.

In discussing the meaning of the treaty of friendship, collaboration, and mutual assistance, the committee has clearly indicated that the treaty assumes also that Finland itself bears primary responsibility for the defense of its own area. In addition, the committee uses a form of expression which says that the level of the performance capability is to be decided by Finland itself.

That of course is as it actually is. It appears, however, that this self-evident right of an independent country has frequently been used as a loophole to escape into an area that demands smaller sacrifices. If the situation were to be compared to the period prior to the winter war of 1939, it would be noted that the unpreparedness then, truly, was a matter of Finland's own deciding because Finland then had no defense treaties.

However, it might be difficult to provide moral justification to a treaty partner if, in the event of a crisis, Finland could offer nothing other than some of the famed Finnish "sisu" [internal strength], with the practical efficacy of giving the opponent at that time a handsome sampling. The treaty partner would hardly be overjoyed if, according to the treaty, one were then to say, "Here now are all of our available forces!"

But, preparedness of a different type is no doubt expected from a country that is numbered among the richest in the world. By means of quite limited additional effort

and without danger to Finland's ability to carry the added economic load, Finland's defense capability could be raised to a level that even during peacetime could clearly show that, in a moment of crisis, Finland was a country on such a level able to provide the expected selection of methods.

Douglas MacArthur, the American general, was an excellent speaker. In one of his famous speeches he said: "The histories of unsuccessful wars can be crystalized into two words: Too late!" At the turn of the century Professor Renault also said at a Hague conference dealing with the laws of war: "The only state that must not disarm is the state that wishes to remain neutral, because it must be able to defend its neutrality." A sensible attitude of neutrality, one that accepts risk and responsibility, guarantees the continuation of life--even if peace does not break out.

5955

CSO: 3107/32

NORTHERN FORCES COMMANDER URGES STEPPED-UP TRAINING

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 6 Dec 81 p 24

[Article by Marja Salmela: "People's General From Behind the Wolf Boundary; Northern Finland Commander Wants Refresher Training in the Wilds Beyond the Vuokso and Support for the Civilians of Lappi"]

[Text] The military vacuum in Lappi Province cannot be filled merely with soldiers. Soldiers by themselves do not amount to anything, their strength is based on the surrounding life-giving community. Maj Gen Erkki Laatikainen, who is responsible for one-half of Finland's defense, demands that work be done also for the good of the civilians in Lappi Province. Since it is impossible to establish a new source of livelihood in the north, the young men there go elsewhere. They are exactly the ones, the ones that are accustomed to adverse conditions, that the Defense Forces needs, argues the commander of the Pohjois-Suomi [Northern Finland] Military Province who has command over one-third of Finland's Ground Forces and over the most effective units of the air forces.

According to Laatikainen, the decision makers should by now be aware that sons of the northland do not consider themselves fortunate to be a skilled machinist and a resident in an apartment house cubicle in southern Finland.

Agriculture could attract a considerable number of people to the north if support were directed there more plentifully than to the temperate zones of Finland, Laatikainen believes.

At the same time Laatikainen says that he is deeply concerned about Finland's ailing self-sufficiency in respect to cereal grains. It is necessary to go back some distance in history to find an equally alarming year.

"In 1940 the Finns did not have bread, but the Germans did. We all know who at that time set the conditions for obtaining bread," lectured the former instructor of military history who enlivened his remarks with humor enabling the facts to take hold in the minds of his students, many who are now captains.

"If shipping traffic in the Baltic Sea were now to come to a standstill, Finland would have an upsurge in the price of young pine trees since everyone would then race to strip bark for famine bread," continued the second generation people's general, son of the legendary "Pappa" Laatikainen.

In the view of many, the 53-year old personality-endowed son of an infantry general is beginning to be all the more reminiscent of his father as he grows older. He addresses all his subordinates in the familiar mode and is quite inclined to talk with conscripts, with whom his attitude is much like that of father to son.

A month ago when the military court delivered its verdict in the Oulu shooting incident, this commanding officer took a stand behind the accused guardsman.

After that event Laatikainen sent a "pastoral letter" to the trainers of the guardsmen. His comment about the content of the letter was merely that the boys are fine, but that there are all sorts of instructors among the trainers.

As an aid to avoid incidents such as the one in Oulu, it has been proposed that fences be erected around the grounds of military garrisons.

"All commercial firms build fences around their areas. Why should the defense facilities differ from any other? Perhaps those fences would not be needed if everyone were law-abiding, but such is not the case." Laatikainen says that even this matter depends on funds.

Refresher Tours Beyond the Wolf Boundary

During the course of the autumn, the commander was required to respond to the views expressed by Professor Raimo Vayrynen regarding the defending of the northland during a crisis period. In Vayrynen's view, the forces in Lappi would not be able to defend the area in a crisis situation. He feels that those forces are there mainly as a political pacification between military allies. Vayrynen pressed for a political discussion on how the military forces in Lappi would be used in a crisis situation, but Laatikainen stamped the theme of the discussion with two red markings, as the army does with its secret papers. "We can consider making the plans public after all others have presented their own."

The Defense Forces do not in fact begin with the premise that 1,500 young boys are to defend Lappi. They are only a framework around which 60,000 to 70,000 reservists, who have been trained for the conditions prevailing in Lappi, can be instantly dispatched.

It is the reservists themselves that Laatikainen would like to have on more frequent training tours beyond the "wolf boundary." He no longer offers the enjoyable pine-covered countryside at Rovajarvi as a refresher training site, but rather, the barren wilds beyond the Vuotsonjoki.

That is where, in the general's opinion Lappi begins. He feels that Rovaniemi is on the border between Central and Northern Finland.

In the general's view, the field artillery also should at long last make the tour to the wolf boundary because it has made only three trips to the turnaround point at the approaches to Lappi since termination of wartime operations there.

Northern Finland has been the favored child of the decision makers responsible for defense, but Laatikainen still wants more air and armor equipment. "Our tactics call

for terrain mobility. In earlier times that was provided by horses and skis, but now the requirement is snowmobiles and track-laying vehicles. These have been promised, but they do not consist of cheap plastics and aluminum."

Laatikainen has found the energy to be concerned even about fur caps for the men. When the thought entered his mind he immediately had to have the figures on the supply of fur caps at hand. When the supply turned out to be inadequate for a crisis situation, he was inordinately disturbed that money could not be found for an adequate supply.

An Avid Trade Unionist

Laatikainen became interested in trade union activity when he was in charge of personnel policy in various functions in the Defense Forces. He was a deputy chairman in AKAVA [Academic Professional Commission] for 5 years as a working conditions negotiator, which was "mentally exhausting." Otherwise the general considers this phase of his life to have been very educational and uplifting. He found there an entirely new angle for viewing the world about him.

The general has an understanding of the complaints in the officer corps about the problems involved in the need to make moves.

He recalls an incident of 42 years ago when his older brother, then in seventh grade, came home from school, which was the sixth one he had attended. The brother clapped his hands together and exclaimed, "Oh! Thanks to God that war has broken out and this changing of schools is ended!"

Since an increasingly larger number of the staff personnel live in their own houses, a move can completely upset the matter of housing savings. With many the matter of savings is budgeted on the basis of a working wife's earnings, and the loss of her employment upsets the entire budget.

"When a move becomes necessary, the next move may be a bankruptcy move, for, who can estimate and determine the costs of a move? That is equally as impossible as determining the compensation of the costs."

In the Defense Forces, according to Laatikainnn, one cannot even begin to imagine upon graduation from cadet school that he can settle permanently anywhere. The training brings new tasks that increase one's responsibilities. Only three cities exist in Finland, Helsinki, Oulu, and Hameenlinna, whose young officers can circulate from one task to another.

"That is how our system is, but there is always something at the end of that road. I can promise that a captain of today will be commander of the Defense Forces in the year 2,000. Can a train conductor for instance, be certain that he will ever become director of the Railroad Administration?"

Laatikainen is irked by the complaints about the moving of the mint from Katajonokka to Rovaniemi. Excuses of all kinds were found, some even of the type that, "Because grandfather worked at Skatta, so then even I." The lamenting led even to a contractual agreement concerning dispersed placement in his own official position.

The old trade unionist sends this message to his former counterparts in the labor employment office: "It would be especially delightful if your methods were adapted to the Defense Forces!"

"I am of the opinion that it broadens one considerably to journey from the temperate zone of Finland to the wolf boundary. After that, a person thinks differently about things."

More Conscripts

More new considerations are coming to the fore in the personnel policy management of the Defense Forces. More conscripts will be needed in the future as the age classes become smaller. At its highest, an age class consisted of 45,000 men and the lowest point will occur at the turn of the decade into the 1990's when the figure drops to 27,000 men.

In Finland 95 percent of the men go through military training. That figure is large even when compared to the number in Sweden. According to Laatikainen, a single percent of "lyrical soldiers" or "ethicals", as he calls the civilian service personnel, does not amount to much.

Despite everything, Laatikainen has a bad impression about the behavior of those few who for conscientious reasons have refused to accept their responsibility. That behavior is undemocratic toward others. This is a democratic firm in which the lumberjack and the academician are of equal worth, the general fondly imagines.

He does not look with approval on anything that is even remotely suggestive of braggadocio. A true story from the time in Kajaani when he was director of the non-commissioned officer school is an example of that. The boys were out in the field at Kuhmo when two fellows from Helsinki decided to separate themselves from the group by pitching their own tent. The director noted this, but said nothing. When the platoon returned to Kajaani, he took the Helsinki fellows aside and ordered them to live in a tent in the schoolyard, since they wished to be apart from others.

Laatikainen is familiar also with the entry of the recruits into the army.

At one time he was assigned to the organization section of the general staff at the time when the various garrisons began seeking recruits.

Because Laatikainen did not have authority to assign recruits to any requesting unit, he became vexed with the telephone calls of request. On one occasion when he received such a call he loudly ordered his young assistant to look into the hallway to see if there were any recruits there. When the assistant answered that there were none to be seen, Laatikainen answered into the mouthpiece, "There--you heard it--we don't create them here!"

Now he himself looks forward to receiving 250 recruits in his own area on 1 January 1990. The general wonders how much cheaper it would be to provide employment for the youth here than in highway projects, or to have them unoccupied at beer parties.

Traffic accidents and the increasing rate of unemployment among the youth, particularly in northern Finland, are matters of much greater concern to the general than evasion of military duty.

The commander is well aware of the gloomy unemployment situation because his travels take him 3 out of 4 working days throughout his command area, the Northern Finland Military Province, which measures 700 kilometers in length and 250 kilometers in width. Laatikainen's duties include considerable liaison with the governing leaders in the various communes with which he has frequent contact.

The general characterizes his wife with a passing remark: "You are a saver of houses for the state!" This husband who has occupied the post of commander for over a year, complains that it is a good job, but that it leaves little time for fishing.

Once, however, Laatikainen found time to be a guest of the naval units. The naval people showed him the place to set his nets. When the commander raised his nets in the morning they contained only a few whitefish but a great number of Baltic herring, this was a cause of embarrassment for those who had showed him the place.

But the general, always ready with an appropriate remark in any situation, saved the occasion with the remark: "Well, there's quite a few--perhaps they have stayed awake overnight for us, because their eyes are so red!"

Busy as he is, Laatikainen occasionally finds time to visit briefly at the Rovajarvi encampment area. There last autumn he innocently undertook to experiment with the growing of the ear mushroom. "That effort does not entail any basic costs other than the placing of some newspapers--regardless of party affiliation--in the bottom of a pit to a depth of 10 centimeters, some dirt, and more newspapers, topped with a network of the ear mushroom filaments.

Many await with expectancy to see whether the grape-like mushrooms will appear on the surface in the spring, or whether it will be necessary to place a few reindeer ears on the spot to assuage the general's disappointment.

5955

CSO: 3107/32

KKE DEPUTIES DEMAND VOA BROADCAST TERMINATION

Athens RIZOSPASTIS in Greek 15 Dec 81 p 8

/Text/ The issue of the continuing cold war activities of the "Voice of America" station operating on Greek soil was brought up in parliament by KKE deputies An. Ambatielos, K. Kappos, K. Vasalos and M. Theodorakis.

As was stressed in their interpellation to the ministers of foreign affairs and national defense, in the past democratic forces expressing the feelings of the Greek people had made an issue of the American radio station "Voice of America." This station, which is on Greek soil, is a source for propagandizing American cold war policy.

As KKE deputies had charged in the past, the "Voice of America" even transmits to Arab countries programs with distinctly anti-Arab contents, with the result that Greece's relations with the Arab countries are being undermined.

The operation of the station diminishes national sovereignty and is in opposition to the need for practicing an independent foreign policy.

It is entirely unacceptable, the interpellation mentions, for the American cold war voice to be heard from Greek soil.

The ministers of foreign affairs and national defense are called on to explain if the government now sees the need to immediately terminate the "Voice of America" operations, independent of the definitive arrangements to be made during the bilateral negotiations on all pending issues concerning facilities enjoyed by Americans in Greece.

5671

CSO: 4621/118

REPORTED RADIO, TELEVISION POLITICIZATION ATTACKED

Methods Exposed

Athens I VRADYNI in Greek 21 Dec 81 p 7

/Document: "Light on the Behind the Scenes Activities of the ERT"/

/Excerpts/ Sleek, shining and deceptive --like a counterfeit gold piece-- the well-known writer who, because of his expressed devotion to the KKE, was appointed assistant director general of the much afflicted ERT /Greek Radio and Television/ by Mr Papandreou personally, appeared before a group of journalists 6 weeks ago to show off his cleverness.

He said, "We have taken over a tele-blindness system, but we promise that we will very soon make it into a real television..."

One and a half months have transpired since then and 2 whole months since the famous "Change" when, with convulsive haste, PASOK decided to implement it first of all in the ERT and then in the YENED /Armed Forces Information Services/ so that we would not have the smallest chance of selection or choice. And at this very moment, all of Greece is lamenting and is enraged, rightists, old-time leftists, ill-fortuned centrists, even the unfortunate PASOK followers who are daily becoming more aware in their own house of how much they have been fooled and how crude, savage and useless are those who have invaded the Agia Paraskevi premises.

The "tele-blindness," Mr Vasilikos (to use your own clever phrase) is only now being created, developed and magnified in the ERT. We accept the fact that up to now, Greek television and radio have been half-crooked or rather suffered from a sort of Daltonism. Real blindness, however, is only now "being accomplished," with the blessing of the present government, with the fatalistic tolerance of the journalist who was appointed its director general, your own active work and the watchful eye of the various comic-tragic "green guards."

No one knows at this moment who manages the ERT. All give orders, all revoke them, all decide, and in this confusion, this chaos, uncertainty and fear of a purge, a television program is shown, the equal of which, in shame and embarrassment, cannot be found even in Uganda.

Struggle for Domination

Opportunistic and naive, they thought they had found the suitable opportunity to climb up to the high principles of the ERT, and they are now beginning to become aware of what television means, what televised programs mean, and even more, what televised and --by extension-- radio broadcast news mean. They realize it and are becoming afraid, at least some of them do, and are being led to the threshold of resignation, as has been written, without any substantial denial by Mr Romaïos. They are the ones who faintly realize how and why the ERT changed four directors general over the 7-year New Democracy term of office --Dimitrios Horn, Mr Vlachos, the journalist Giannis Lampsas and finally the unfortunate late Konstandinos Khondros.

There will be resignations in the ERT, no one doubts that. Confessing to a foreign diplomat, Mr Romaïos said that "my patience is wearing thin," and that he would simply wait a little longer for a drastic intervention by the prime minister to reestablish his authority, otherwise he would tender his resignation.

However, how and why should Mr Papandreou reestablish this authority when it was he himself who humiliated Mr Romaïos by sending him, on his personal orders, Vasili Vasilikos as assistant, and in reality as commissar, only 24 hours after Mr Romaïos' categorical assurances that there was no question of anyone being considered for appointment to that position? Things look dark at Agia Paraskevi and the behind the scenes activities even darker, with intrigues and behind the scenes "duels" in which journalistic groups and other elements are involved, all fighting the good fight for the promotion of their own devoted men to critical positions --and it is known how critical and decisive the ERT administration is.

In the Meantime....

These things, however, are happening at the summit. A little further down, where policy, the "line," and the miserable ERT programs (especially televised ones) are really made, things are even darker, more difficult and more dangerous.

The first, the family names, make the decisions --sometimes this even happens-- on the general lines of the new programs and proceed to the selection of the various programs which we suffer. Often, however, those that are decided on and announced every Tuesday, during the notorious meetings of the "Romaïos-royalists" Caesars with journalists, are cancelled without any substantive explanation being given. A series, with the pretentious title "The Reporters," took 4 weeks to get through various committees to go on the air, with ridicule heaped on those who announced every Saturday "their showing without delay." Another ambitious series --and a good one according to those who saw it-- went through a similar experience but was in the end cancelled last week. Four of the new administrative council members were appointed (under mysterious conditions) a review committee and they were the ones who judged the "unsuitability" of the episodes they had seen. In reality, the four ERT "butchers" (they are called something like that) were infuriated because "the acrobats" did not have any leftist culture, they did not boast about Aris Veloukhiotis and they did not admire the renowned "child

abductions," as one of the members of the "review committee" does very often by writing in an afternoon newspaper which appointed him to the ERT administrative council....

The producer of this series will now get 3 million drachmas in compensation and, of course, a continuation is being called for. The reason is because there are another 12 to 15 such unshown series but on order from producers who, at any rate, have very human and Greek make-up to satisfy the "butchers" of the company. This, of course, translates into 40-50 million drachmas, according to average estimates, which must be paid as compensation to the producers who were entrapped and who believed that contracts even under the "Change are drafted and signed in order to be honored. However, what value have 50 million old drachmas if with them we "save" the Greek television viewers from "bourgeois opium?"

'Premature Birth'

The things that are happening in the ERT news administration cannot go unnoticed or remain without consequence. They simply affirm not only the ideological, administrative and political "line" of the "Change" in television but the consolidation of a nationally dangerous propagandistic mechanism which is directed not only against the "accursed Right" but against the foreign policy itself which the Papandreou government is supposed to implement or, at any rate, wants to implement.

A naive and practically inconsequential journalist characteristically manages this vital service of the company, and so-called "newly-converted" followers of the government party without pretense and unreservedly launch the "RIZOSPASTIS line" right under his very nose. Domestic news items which displease the KKE are set aside, held back or else falsified. The KKE (Int.) is now experiencing an unprecedented pogrom, while the KKE and KNE /Greek Communist Youth/ announcements receive the widest possible prominent publicity, almost competing with government announcements and even with PASOK proclamations. An even worse situation and atmosphere is developing in regard to foreign news where the first laughable attempts were made by PASOK people to censor even Mr Mitterrand's remarks because they did not serve either the party or the Papandreou government. A policy has developed which only Moscow could approve, or perhaps dictate? Afghanistan is not "worthy" of news, while Poland was "cut off" up to last Saturday, and it required the bloody military "upheaval" of last Sunday to have the chief of that service come to his senses and to have the "message" broadcast on the radio, to the great displeasure of certain people... Zakharov is in danger of dying of a hunger strike in Gorki where he is exiled, but Greek listeners and viewers of ERT are unaware of the news, whereas on the other hand all the news which deal with the weak points of Washington, EEC disagreements, problems in Spain (from the time that country became in principle a member of the Atlantic Alliance it became a target of ERT hostility) are broadcast with fanfare and honor. And since the news of the major western news agencies (including the French socialist agency) did not offer much material for this purpose, it was deemed advisable to have the ERT become a subscriber to TASS which is so well known for its impartiality! It is now beginning to become clear what the new ERT bosses meant when they talked about "multi-voices."

KKE (Int.) Charges

Athens I AVGI in Greek 15 Dec 81 p 1

/Editorial: "The ERT Massacres Information"/

/Text/ Since it is still early and since our comments and demarches made by our party so far to the ERT administration and ministry of press /as published/ have not had any results, we think the time has come to address ourselves to the prime minister.

The issue is the virtual cutoff of the KKE (Int.) from television and radio in the name of arguments which not only do not stand up to serious discussion or critique but are unacceptable from a democratic standpoint.

Once the smaller parties were excluded from representation in parliament through implementation of the strengthened proportional representation electoral system, while the two major parties, supplemented by the dogmatic communist party, were represented in parliament, attempts are now being made to impose this same system of multi-voice suppression on the ERT.

However, any such regulation not only has no relation to pluralism in the providing of information nor with multi-voice democracy, issues which were targets of all forces and parties which fought for the "Change," but also signifies a step backward.

There are many daily examples of such antidemocratic tendencies in the ERT. We have referred to them in previous articles and notes in I AVGI. We will confine ourselves to one or two of the past few days: Sunday, the day before yesterday, a wreath was placed by the KKE (Int.) on the occasion of the anniversary of the destruction of Kalavryta by the Nazis. The other parties participating --including those that have appeared in parliament after the elections-- were mentioned by the ERT, but our party was not. Yesterday, the KKE (Int.) executive committee issued a statement expressing the deep concern of our party over the proclamation of martial law in Poland. The ERT did not even make a simple reference to this fact, although the "Polish issue" dominated the newscasts, and the KKE (Int.) was the only Greek party that publicly took a stand on the issue. This same silent treatment was given to the "Riga Feraios" march in the streets of Athens on the same issue, although similar demonstrations in other European capitals were reported, with the excuse that these demonstrations did not originate "from a parliamentary party." However, such a stand by the ERT is, besides many other reasons, anti-journalistic in nature. One wonders how this situation can be reconciled with the principles of objective and multiform information which was and is a basic promise of the Program of Change of PASOK now in charge of governing the country.

The fact that ERT and ministry of press officials answer us that it is a question of government regulations obliges us to address ourselves to the

president of the government and to ask for his direct intervention to put an end to this embargo situation and to the antidemocratic discrimination of the KKE (Int.) by the ERT, and to ensure that the people and international public opinion might be informed, through multiform and democratic processes, on the position and activities of the parties.

We believe that this is an issue of principle and consequence to our democratic peoples who have sacrificed and are still sacrificing so much so that democracy might find root and blossom in this country, and so that Change might move forward.

5671

CSO: 4621/119

OTE PERSONNEL TRANSFERS SEEN POLITICALLY INSPIRED

Athens I VRADYNI in Greek 21 Dec 81 p 6

/Excerpts/ The "Change" in the OTE /Greek Telecommunications Organization/ is continuing unabated and is leading to its gradual disorganization. Up to now, over 500 able OTE cadres have been transferred under a series of hasty, irregular and even illegal decisions of the new administration. It is revealing that the new deputy director had signed such decisions even before he was appointed to office.

All of these decisions are being inspired by the PASOK commissars who, with party preferences as their criteria, are seriously affecting the productivity of the OTE through the removal of excellent OTE cadres and their replacement by individuals who often do not possess the required abilities nor the conventional qualifications to do a productive job.

The orgy of transfers is continuing today unabated --2 months following the "Change." The new administration is daily signing decisions for the transfer of personnel, favorable for the PASOK backers and unfavorable for the party opponents of the party in power. The result is that impatience and anxiety among employees is constantly growing, while their productivity is diminishing and the quality of services provided by the OTE growing worse, a fact which is becoming all the more noticeable. The daily telecommunications of the citizens are being made all the more difficult with the disorganization.

He Signed Before He Took Office

Unprecedented was the haste and swiftness with which the PASOK commissars moved to take over the entire administrative apparatus of the OTE, down to the most distant service. Characteristic of this haste was the fact that the first five decisions on transfers and the setting up of "service committees" were signed by Mr Tombras, today deputy director, before he even took over his duties!

More specifically, Mr Tombras began to make decisions "as soon as he put his foot in the OTE door" on 4 November, whereas the presidential decree on his appointment bore the date 7 November, while the decree itself was published in the GOVERNMENT GAZETTE on 11 November.

Hierarchy is Bypassed

However, the illegal acts perpetrated in the "service transfers," which have been carried out and are still continuing, have other twists:

- Newer employees in the hierarchy are being promoted over those who have legitimate reason for promotion, and in some instances they are made supervisors of their more senior colleagues!

- Transfers of employees are being carried out through decisions of the deputy director, although the Personnel Council is responsible for them.

Sometimes the decisions on "Changes" include both of the above-mentioned categories of illegal acts.

Perhaps one may maintain that transfers are a normal phenomenon in the OTE. This is true and, in fact, there was a transfer table providing for the transfer of about 3,000-4,000 employees a year. However, these changes by legislative decree have always been carried out under strict service criteria and transfer criteria so that the normal operation of the organization would not suffer. Indicative of this is the fact that of the 2,000 transfers carried out, Mr Bregiannis, PASOK representative, entered protests for only 13 cases.

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PROBLEMS OF RETURNING POLITICAL REFUGEES ANALYZED

Athens RIZOSPASTIS in Greek 22 Dec 81 p 6

/Article by Fondas Ladis: "Refugees in Their Country?"

/Text Of the 22,000 refugees repatriated from 1974 until now, several thousand are professionals. Their situation is distinctive. The KEPE /Center for Planning and Economic Research has recommended the utilization of these professionals from socialist countries in the Greek economy. The Technical Chamber has supported this idea, and so have many others. In our country's present state of development, it needs good professionals. What has been done?

Let us peruse the newspapers of the past 4-5 years. We read: Vangelis Tolis, an aircraft mechanic, was obliged to get a job in an olive oil extraction plant. A few women doctors have been employed as nurses. Maria P. worked every day plus 23 nights a month to earn 20,000 drachmas. A civil engineer worked as a garbage man, finally returning to the USSR. A naval architect from Poland worked as a laborer in a sausage-making plant. Kalliopi Papanikolaou who was employed as a worker was told by her employer, "It is a shame you have a university degree since we want a person with a high school degree."

In 1977, of 41 returning professionals who lived in Salonica, 14 were unemployed, 3 were employed as construction workers, 5 as laborers, 2 as sewing machine operators, 6 as repairmen, while others were underemployed and only very few worked in their true professions.

Diplomas, even those granted after delays, have not all been recognized. For example, we had the case of a university professor from a socialist country who was cut off from a colleague here. We also had the case of a professional with dozens of written works who was asked to translate them from Russian into English before a decision was made whether or not to give him a diploma in Greece. Let us not even talk about religion or ancient Greek in which professionals from socialist countries are still being tested today.

Let us see some other current cases:

G. Zervas, a civil engineer, is employed as a doorkeeper. Th. Nastos, a naval architect, is employed as a baker. K. Papamargaritis, an economist, works as a construction worker. N. Papastergiou, a philosophy professor, works as a

gardener. The list does not end here but actually begins here.

The question can be raised: What would change, as regards the increased terrible difficulties confronted by political refugees returning to Greece, even when the problem of their repatriation is finally settled through a special law, as we all hope?

This is what all political refugees, young and old alike, who were repatriated in the past or recently are now asking. And the five political refugees, each of whom describes his own case in an adjoining column, are asking this in the name of all these refugees.

On the Issue of Pensions

There is also the issue of pensions. Fortunately for the Right which, by pushing aside the problem with all its ramifications (and ridding itself of its exclusive responsibilities vis-a-vis the problems being confronted by refugees arriving here), has maintained and still maintains that responsible for the problem are the socialist countries and their governments which "are shirking their duties" on the issue of the transfer of pensions of repatriated refugees.

And yet these pensions (large by socialist regime standards where there are so many other similar allowances granted to its citizens and where the cost of living is generally low, but small in relation to the cost of living in Greece) would have been only one small aid, primarily to the elderly, aid which would at any rate be of equal value to the "big" Greek pensions, such as the IKA [Social Insurance Foundation] and TEVE [Greek Craftsmen's and Tradesmen's Fund], etc.

Therefore, the transfer of pensions would not have solved all the problems of the elderly political refugees. Some things have remained for the Right to settle. And we have just now seen how many and what type of problems exist and what evident social and political causes they have.

On the other hand, no socialist country has definitely denied the transfer of pensions despite the fact that such a transfer is forbidden by their laws and despite the fact that there is one issue, known to all, concerning the non-convertibility of currency of the socialist countries which Greek governments have changed into an a priori condition for payment of pensions in "hard currency."

Therefore, proposals for the holding of negotiations and concern for their development were and still remain a Greek issue. The political refugees are being repatriated as Greeks. And if during the period of their exile over 30 years, the socialist countries extended them hospitality as they did their own people, as equal citizens (did not these countries give at that time unselfish pensions to the elderly and disabled?), at least now the Greek Government must, as is determined by the Constitution, represent these refugees until the segment of the problem dealing with the transfer of pensions is settled (the problem with Bulgaria, The Soviet Union and the GDR has already been partly or fully settled).

Therefore, despite the fact that there is a desire on the part of the socialist countries to find a satisfactory solution for the two parties, Greece has not sought having comprehensive bilateral agreements succeed, such as those which have been concluded with Austria, Sweden, West Germany and Libya for our emigrants who worked there.

To the contrary, in certain cases it has brought up concrete obstacles in the negotiations by comparing unrelated issues, i.e. comparing the case of Greek political refugees with the case of the 350,000 Pontic Greeks who have been living for many years in the Soviet Union.

If there is someone who has not fulfilled its obligations, it is surely the Greek state of the Right. The reason why it did not ask for UN help for the repatriated political refugees was not to acknowledge that they exist! It did not honor pensions which had been transferred from Bulgaria and which certain refugees had coming to them in Greece before 1949. It does not financially help all those arriving (until their basic problems are settled, one of which is the insurance and pension problem) as it did in similar instances of Greeks returning from Egypt, Turkey and other countries.

It is the Greek state of the Right which has not bothered to compensate or to return to the families of refugees the properties which were unconstitutionally confiscated, properties totaling hundreds of thousands of stremmas by virtue of Decrees M and N of 1948, two ministerial council acts of 1950 and 1952 as well as Law 2236/53 "concerning frontier properties." Properties confiscated at that time including entire towns, while even infants lost their citizenship --as in the case of Lefka in Thesprotia-- because it had become a question of "Red money" going to the state, to "indigent" people and basically to "nationalist" hands. Here capitalism has outdone itself, it has flayed itself since it has violated and abrogated the strongly protected and holy right of private property.

An Issue Mainly Political in Nature

This is the story of the political refugee situation as is the story of our country today.

It is a wound which must be healed at once and for all. Repatriation must cease being practiced by selection by the secret services. A law must be passed to repeal Law 233/1975 which although it abolished the decrees and laws of the civil war and cold war era as well as the corresponding legal judgements, it maintains all of its consequences.

This is a political issue, an issue of democratic processes. This is how the people look upon the issue of political refugees. And it is expecting the democratic government to put a definite end to the era of half-measures.

This is what two PASOK officials, who today are in responsible government positions, have maintained regarding the issue. First of all, Minister of Public Order Ioannis Skoularikis said, "The problem remains because the 'New Democracy'

government, by preserving the atmosphere which led to the civil war, did not basically confront it in an over-all manner with the lifting of every administrative obstacle for the immediate return of every single individual who wants to return or is returning to the fatherland.... The demand for immediate and general repatriation without restrictions is for me and the party to which I belong of primary significance, and we will do whatever we can to have it satisfied." (RIZOSPASTIS 30 December 1981.)

Minister of Labor A. Kaklamanis has said, "We are in favor of bestowing citizenship en masse to all political refugees and we are in favor of the free return to the fatherland, without any restrictions whatsoever, of both those whose citizenship has been taken away and those whose entry into the country is arbitrarily being refused by the government --even though they may have Greek citizenship-- through the abusive implementation of Law 4234/1964 which is, in fact, also anticonstitutional." (RIZOSPASTIS 20 December 1981.)

There are many other similar statements. In the meantime, the refugees are waiting. They are waiting for the doors of the fatherland to open wide for them also. And not only that. The fatherland must provide for those who will return and for those who have come in the past. They must be compensated for the 30 or more years they were immobilized "on the precipice of endurance."

And so, coming from countries which had solved all of their day-to-day living problems, they must not once again find themselves refugees in their own country now.

Problems of the Newly-Repatriated

Anna Kefalleli speaks on behalf of the Cultural Association of the Newly-Repatriated:

"Where we grew up we were impressed by the attempts undertaken by the socialist regimes to have us learn our mother tongue, to cultivate our manners and customs. Our clubs were centers of culture and relaxation, true cells where both young boys and girls could satisfy their interests. We had grown accustomed to reading books a lot because the general climate was such and also because books were accessible to all at a very cheap price. Theater and movies had entered our lives. I will not speak here about availability of studies nor about the problem of the assignment or the finding of work because these issues were taken care of before studies had been completed.

"All of these things we abandoned because of love for our country and for its traditions. The first moments of our arrival were moving: hugs, kisses, tears, joy. Hard reality shows up a few days later. Difficulties everywhere: acquisition of citizenship, recognition of our diplomas, continuation of studies, finding work, settlement of pending military registration matters, etc.

No one can imagine how much we are hurt with the temporary work permit given to us on our arrival here (the first proof of our second class citizen category) or when we realize that we are being exploited more than others --because we

we are found in time of need-- and when we encounter coolness upon hearing that we have come from socialist countries. Of course, there are businessmen who welcome us with open arms and who appreciate our capabilities.

Another anomaly is that the state has shut us off from civil service jobs. This is incomprehensible to us and hurts our dignity. Now we understand what "our people" means, a word we often heard and could not understand.

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